A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius

Edited by

Theodore D. Papanghelis
& Antonios Rengakos

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

The long process of re-assessment of Apollonius' *Argonautica* may have started when readers with a soft spot for romance like Sainte-Beuve saw fit to celebrate the Jason-Medea love affair to the exclusion of almost everything else; yet long after Sainte-Beuve enthused over book 3 and wished the poem had ended before the enamoured princess went on to acquire a criminal record, one could still with good reason complain that the sole Hellenistic epic to come down to us unscathed was receiving less critical attention than it deserved. A quick glance at the literature which has been encrusting the *Argonautica* over the last three decades or so will confirm that, whatever desiderata and gaps there may still be, any such complaint would be more or less churlish today. Whether as beneficiary of the changed ways in which post-classical literary products are now being studied or as a composition whose intrinsic value has at last dawned upon readers, the *Argonautica* now looks like one of those Hellenistic growth industries; and when Apollonius is deemed unconventional enough to be credited (or discredited, as the case may be) with "deconstructionist" instincts, one may suspect that rehabilitation of his epic has come with a vengeance.

Some preconceptions had to be overcome before Apollonius could come into his own; one was that he cherished Homeric aspirations and endeavoured to write an orthodox epic but then, having failed to keep up Homeric standards (especially in terms of unity), fell flat on his face. That Aristotelian unity or depiction of straightforward epic heroism may not have been the poet's overriding concern is the kind of "modernist" idea which few scholars would reject out of hand today. But this is not necessarily the result of the majority of Apollonius' students having jumped on the bandwagon of avant-guarde hermeneutics. As in the case of other Hellenistic poets, informed re-evaluation of Apollonius' poetic aims owes a great deal to a realisation of which traditionally trained classical scholars should be capable par excellence, namely that, much like Callimachus and for much the same literary-historical, social and personal reasons, Apollonius operated as a scholar as well as a poet. And post-classical poets who are at the same time librarians or habitués of a great

library are nothing if not self-conscious—self-conscious about their place in the literary tradition, about the way they use poetic language and metre, about the norms and codes of their chosen genre, about the aesthetic and ideological implications of recounting what others, working under different circumstances and with different social and literary perspectives, had recounted before them.

All of these issues, and much else besides, have loomed large in recent and current research on Apollonius; and as a result, new critical perspectives on the *Argonautica* have been won, especially where sound scholarship and a wider theoretical awareness have combined to focus on the dynamics of the epic's new narrative modes, the manifold implications of its dense intertextuality with previous and contemporary literature and the crucial relation between its form and cultural background.

As it happens, Apollonius was the honorand of the fourth Groningen "Workshop on Hellenistic Poetry" held in 1998. The well-attended conference, whose papers are due to be published soon, confirmed that, along with Callimachus and Theocritus who were the subjects of the first two workshops in 1992 and 1994 respectively, Apollonius is increasingly popular with senior scholars and younger research students alike; that important aspects of his epic technique are currently being brought into sharper focus; and that, naturally, much remains to be done.

The principal aim of the present volume is to offer a survey of some of the major issues recently discussed and currently under examination among specialists on Apollonius. In such projects one quickly gives up the idea of exhaustiveness, both for intrinsic and practical reasons. We have, however, tried to be as comprehensive as possible in the sense that the papers collected here cover a wide range of research areas from the history of the *Argonautica* text, the poet's biography and trends in Apollonian bibliography, through individual aspects of poetic technique to questions of reception and *Nachleben*. Now that the book is finally completed, we are happily confirmed in our hope that readers of the volume will find both a fairly representative picture of the state of Apollonian scholarship and a stimulus to further exploration and elaboration.

In bringing this volume to publication we have incurred many debts. We wish to express our gratitude to Professors Hans-Christian Günther, Richard Hunter, E.J. Kenney, Mary Lefkowitz, George Parassoglou

and to Assistant Professors T. Kouremenos and P. Kyriakou for their valuable help and advice on linguistic and editorial matters. It goes without saying that any remaining defects, inaccuracies and obstinacies should be laid at the editors' door. Thanks are also due to the staff of Brill Academic Publishers for the care they have expended on the preparation of the book and for their polite and efficient cooperation, especially to Ms Marcella Mulder, Ms Loes Schouten and Mr Michiel Klein Swormink. Professor Annette Harder kindly allowed us to see the papers of the Groningen Workshop on Apollonius, still unpublished as these lines were being written. But the place of honour in our acknowledgements belongs to our Argonautic crew itself. It may not be presumptous to say that their rallying had something to do with the fact that, after all these centuries, the summons issued once again from Argo's original home. Although the editors may be thus romantically deluding themselves, they are profoundly grateful for the alacrity of the response.

Theodore D. Papanghelis and Antonios Rengakos

Thessaloniki, March 2001

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OUTLINES OF APOLLONIAN SCHOLARSHIP 1955–1999

Reinhold F. Glei

Preliminary Remarks

In the last 10–15 years the stream of scholarly studies on Apollonius has swollen considerably: whereas in the period 1955–1965 the *Année Philologique* lists only a handful of entries per year, between 1985–1995 the number of studies exceeds a dozen per year and the rate is increasing. Scholars that row against this current feel as if they were sailing through the Clashing Rocks; they have barely struggled halfway through one wave and there rolls the next one tossing them backwards twice as far as they had progressed. One should then throw ballast overboard, muster courage and trust in divine assistance! Even if the attempt to pass through the clashing mountains of books succeeds, there is no hope of a pause and scholars find themselves in the grip of a debilitating ἀμηχανία. Enough of metaphors! For the above reasons a survey of recent scholarship is as much necessary as it is long overdue, and coinciding as it does with the end of the millennium it certainly offers an opportunity to take stock.

Starting from 1955, this survey continues the last *Forschungsbericht* of Apollonian studies since 1921 by Hans Herter (*Bursians Jahresbericht* Nr. 285 [1944–55]) without, however, being comparable with it in either methodology or scope: the nature of this "Companion" and, especially, the limitations of this author will only allow an "outline", i.e. a preliminary overview of the trends that have informed Apollonian scholarship in the last 40–45 years. A focus on the areas that attract most attention is, therefore, necessary; less studied areas will be left out of consideration. Specialized studies on textual problems, the history of the text, metre and language, as well as studies on brief episodes or passages of the *Argonautica* and other works of Apollonius will not be discussed here. Not included either are studies on the influence of the *Argonautica*, especially the relation between Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus, for whereas scholarship on Valerius has in the meanwhile advanced considerably, the reception of Apollonius by other authors has not yet been adequately studied. Some studies on this topic are fortunately included in this volume.

The volume of secondary literature and the partly subjective choices of the author have determined the scope of the outline of the following areas. It should also be apologetically noted that the attempt to spice up here and there a dry survey of secondary literature may have occasionally led to pointed judgments and turns of phrase that not all readers will find to their taste. I ask for forbearance.

1. *Editions, Commentaries, Translations*

In the history of the scholarship on Apollonius and the reception of his epic book 3 of the *Argonautica* has constantly been the focus of attention; editions and commentaries are no exception. The most recent edition with commentary (Hunter [1989a]) as well as the first one in the period under survey are of book 3: Ardizzoni (1958) leads off the dance, launching with book 3 a planned edition of the entire *Argonautica* (with Italian translation and some linguistic notes). Vian (1961) follows soon thereafter, again with an edition of book 3 which later developed into a complete edition of the *Argonautica.* Fränkel's magisterial new Oxford edition (1961) came out in the same year. Being the starting point for rather than the end product of reflection on the text, it has influenced all subsequent work on the text of Apollonius. With a fine feeling for textual problems, Fränkel produced a "dynamic" edition which has lost nothing of its brilliance nearly 40 years after it appeared. As the *OCT* edition allowed only a short *Praefatio*, an *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe* (Fränkel [1964]), justifying in detail the constitution of the text, was soon published separately. There follow the edition of book 1 by Ardizzoni (1967), whose planned edition of the entire epic remained unfinished, and Livrea's edition (1973) of the previously neglected book 4. Vian's is the second important edition of the *Argonautica* in the period under survey: books 1 and 2 came out first (Vian [1974]), books 3 and 4 were published later (Vian [1980, 1981]). A decisive advance over Fränkel's edition lies in the greater number of sources for the constitution of the text (especially the many papyri); at the same time, many of Fränkel's *lumina ingenii* were lost sight of through a very conservative approach to the text. This is not the place to decide upon the methodological dispute between the "Anglo-Saxon" and the "Continental" traditions; both approaches have their merits and as a consequence both editions are necessarily complementary. It is

perhaps preferable to retain both rather than unify them in a "super-edition" and thereby rob them of their distinct characters.

The commentators of Apollonius also owe a substantial debt to Fränkel and Vian. Fränkel's *Noten* (1968) are a milestone—they are not a commentary in the usual sense of the term but an extremely rich collection of material concerning most of the issues raised by the interpretation of Apollonius, and they are still today an inexhaustible treasure-trove of incisive and stimulating, sometimes even strange, observations which can be profitably consulted with the help of a detailed index. The commentary in Vian's edition (1974–81) is more traditional but unfortunately not very user-friendly, because of the usual division of a Budé edition into preliminary notes ("Notices"), footnotes and "Notes complémentaires". Among the commentaries on individual books there stand out Livrea (1973) on book 4 with almost excessively rich material, Hunter (1989a) on book 3 with shorter, readable explanations that concentrate on the essentials, and finally Campbell (1994) on the first 471 lines of book 3 with sometimes unnecessarily exhaustive details. Other helpful tools are Campbell's *Index Verborum* (1983b) and the Apollonius dictionary by Reich—Maehler (1991–97)—of which only the first three fascicles have appeared so far.

Available also are modern translations of the complete *Argonautica* in the major languages of classical scholarship: besides the quite free English translation by Rieu (1959) there are now two accurate modern English translations by Hunter (1993b) and Green (1997a) which will remain the standard English translations for a long time; the same holds for the French translation by Delage—Vian (1974–81). Pompella's accurate Italian translation (1968, 1970) is based on the old Oxford edition by Seaton (1900) whereas the more recent Italian translation by Paduano (1986) is based on the Budé text. Finally, there is at last a translation in contemporary German prose by Glei—Natzel-Glei (1996)—before, one had to make do with the old-fashioned verse translation by von Scheffer (1940).

In general, the most important goals of scholarship in this area may be considered already achieved. For the reasons given above, a new critical edition combining the approaches of Fränkel and Vian would make little sense. Desirable as it is in itself, a commentary on the entire *Argonautica* would certainly grow into an immense work (projecting from Campbell [1994], one reaches the exorbitant estimate of 5.250 pages!) and at this juncture new translations in the

above languages seem superfluous. Therefore, all editors, commentators and translators should be advised to wait at least 50 years before any such undertaking is worthwhile again.

2. *Aesthetics: The Quarrel between Apollonius and Callimachus*

One of the major problems in Apollonian scholarship is the relationship between the *Argonautica* and Callimachean poetics: did Apollonius consciously distance himself from the poetic theory of Callimachus by composing an epic or does the particular character of the *Argonautica* suggest an attempt to apply Callimachean principles to the epic? If, further, the latter is the case, did Callimachus welcome Apollonius' attempt and savour its outcome or did he consider the *Argonautica* as an artistic failure, perhaps even flawed in principle?

Most scholars try to decide these issues from within the *Argonautica* and by detecting intertextual relations with relevant Callimachean passages (*Hymn to Apollo*, the *Aitia* prologue, *Ibis*). The issue has only grown hotter in view of the reports in ancient *Vitae* about a quarrel between Callimachus and his "student" Apollonius who, upset by a failed recital of the *Argonautica* in Alexandria, retreated to Rhodes. In the period under survey Eichgrün (1961) is the main advocate of the traditional approach which, in principle, takes the *Vitae* at face value and, relating the polemics in the Callimachean works to Apollonius, follows Callimachus in branding the *Argonautica* as a poetic failure (regularly faults are lack of unity, the episodic character of the epic and excessive learning). The rejection of this interpretation is one of the most important advances in the Apollonian scholarship of the last 40 years. Already Erbse (1955) expressed strong doubts as to whether it is the *Argonautica* that Callimachus attacks with the image of the muddy river in the *Hymn to Apollo*, but no one paid attention at the time (Huxley's mistaken thesis [1971] that the river alludes to Apollonius' description of Thermodon can be left aside here). The debate over the poetological position of the *Argonautica* started seriously again only 20 years later: in two short articles spun out of his unpublished 1974 dissertation Klein (1975, 1976) rejected vigorously—though by stating rather than arguing his thesis—any discrepancy between the poetics of the *Argonautica* and Callimachus.

Subsequently Lefkowitz (1980) showed in a groundbreaking study that ancient reports of a quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius will hardly stand close examination; the rug was pulled from under the traditional reading of the Callimachean passages.

Moreover, this interpretative shift coincided with a radical reevaluation of the heroism in the *Argonautica*; the "anti-heroic" dimension, to which such reevaluation pointed, is a feature whose "Callimacheanism" (*sit venia verbo*) also became canonical (more details in 3, below). The fatal blow to the tale of a quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius was finally delivered by Rengakos (1992a): in a detailed article that will hopefully end the debate he has shown that reports of the quarrel, when they do not arise out of misunderstanding, are later inventions or speculations. As a consequence, DeForest's book (1994) is titled *Apollonius' Argonautica: A Callimachean Epic*, which does not sound paradoxical any more, and puts forth a new interpretation of the epic (it will also be discussed in 3, below). Articles such as Kahane (1994) or Albis (1995) can be left aside in this context.

In general, the new *communis opinio* is that Apollonius attempted with the *Argonautica* a radical renewal of the Homeric epic in terms of Callimachean aesthetics and that his attempt was successful. The *Argonautica* must indeed be called "a Callimachean epic" and as such must also have enjoyed the approval of the supreme *arbiter elegantiae* in Alexandria. There is no trustworthy evidence for Apollonius' quarrel with Callimachus and his "exile" in Rhodes; it is much more probable that as a young man Apollonius "Rhodius" came to the Mouseion in Alexandria, the cultural metropolis, where he became a "student" (or rather a younger colleague) of Callimachus and then succeeded Zenodotus as librarian and tutor of the royal prince. The date of the composition of the *Argonautica* must remain an open issue; the relative chronology of the *Argonautica*, Callimachus' *Aitia* and Theocritus (see below 6) is problematic in itself and cannot be determined with any certainty.

It is, therefore, evident that here too the central issues, to the extent that they can be settled, should be considered settled. The fragmentary state of Callimachus' works makes a precise study of the intertextual relationships between them (especially the *Aitia*) and the *Argonautica* a difficult, if not impossible, task. Here too further progress is contingent on the considerable broadening of our knowledge of the relevant texts.

3. *Heroism: The* Argonautica *and the Conception of the Epic Hero(es)*

The main issue in the *Argonautica* scholarship of the last 50 years is the conception of the epic hero. Carspecken (1952) showed in a seminal study that the ideals of the Homeric hero do not apply to Apollonius' heroes: his Argonauts, on the one hand, differ fundamentally from the Iliadic warriors, who fight for τιμή and ἀρετή, as well as from πολύτροπος Ὀδυσσεύς and, on the other, should not be compared with the paradigmatic hero of the later Augustan epic, the *pius Aeneas*. What kind of heroes, then, are the Argonauts and especially Jason? The fact that the Argonauts are a diverse group which includes completely different characters makes the answer to this question difficult. Which hero embodies the heroic ideal of Apollonius, granted that such an ideal exists?

The impetus to the discussion was given by no lesser a scholar than Fränkel. In an early article (1957) he attempted to characterize the uniqueness of the *Argonautica* in terms of *Fixierung* and *Intimität*. The former captures the grounding of mythical events in the reality of the poet and the reader so that the larger-than-life heroes are reduced to ordinary human standards; the latter picks out the portrayal of epic characters also in "intimate" situations that reveal their inner, emotional world. What is important for the problem of heroism is that this intimacy applies not only to the protagonist Medea but also to the Argonauts, who are repeatedly shown in a desperate, depressed mood. Fränkel tackled the same issue again in a later article (1960): his main thesis was that the old bully Idas is a foil to Jason, the atypical modern hero, intended to demonstrate *ad oculos* the obsolescence of the archaic warrior. This view is certainly problematic, despite the impetus it provided: apart from the unfortunate comparison of Idas with Don Quijote, Idas cannot be self-evidently identified with the "archaic" (i.e. Homeric) hero because he is no proud βασιλεύς but an insignificant, uncouth lout, an offender of the gods (the model for Virgil's Mezentius!) and at best a caricature of the Homeric hero—the Thersites of the *Argonautica*. To this extent Idas can be a foil to the modern hero Jason only in a very limited sense; much more suitable for this role is naturally Herakles, who will be discussed below. Vian (1963a) attempted to broaden the debate about Apollonius' "renewal" of the epic by going beyond the issue of heroism to, among other things, the role of women, but his attempt remained isolated. The time was not yet ripe for a discussion of the role of women.

It was, however, ripe for a pacifist approach: with some delay, the *Zeitgeist* of the mid-60's influenced the scholarship on Apollonius and the "anti-hero" Jason came into fashion. A seminal study by Lawall (1966) argued that in their various "heroic" capacities all Argonauts—not only Idas—are foils to the "anti-hero" Jason who at the end comes across as the only real hero (on account of his success). Herakles' brute strength represents the more primitive stage of an anachronistic conception of heroism that has no place in the *Argonautica*; for this reason Herakles must part company with the Argonauts relatively early in the epic. Thanks to their τέχνη, Tiphys and other Argonauts are on a higher level but without divine help they fail (the passage through the Clashing Rocks); skill and might cannot guarantee anything. Telamon and Peleus are positive characters who embody fighting prowess; however, prowess, especially when devoid of good judgement (as in the Kyzikos episode), can lead to disaster and does not help to accomplish the main objective, namely the abstraction of the Golden Fleece. Finally, the fate of the seers Mopsos and Phineus, and especially the tragic fate of Idmon, show that even the relationship to the divine powers is not unproblematic. The assistance of the Olympian gods is necessary and occasionally guaranteed, but in the decisive struggle chthonic forces must also be mobilized. Moreover, the murder of Apsyrtos shows that sometimes only a godless deed can bring about success. Against the background of various other conceptions of the hero, Jason comes off as a pragmatic and opportunistic antihero who employs any necessary aid (including Medea's) that the situation might demand. That the success of the Argonautic expedition depends on such a hero reflects for Lawall Apollonius' pessimistic worldview. A similar approach is adopted by Beye (1969) who talks not of an "anti-hero" but of a "love-hero". Beye thus emphasizes more strongly than Lawall the role of love and sexuality in the *Argonautica* and occasionally tries his hand at a Freudian interpretation (the Fleece as a symbol for Medea's virginity). Jason, however, appears not as a Don Juanesque lover but as a bizarrely passive, desirable sexual object (Hypsipyle, Medea); in his helplessness (ἀμηχανίη) he appears consistently unheroic. His success despite (or exactly because of) his unheroic behaviour shows, for Beye also, Apollonius' fundamentally pessimistic attitude.

Predictably, scholars on this side of the Atlantic have not been influenced by the above approaches and have retained a rather traditional stance, as is shown for example by Adamietz's interpretation

of the Jason and Herakles figures (1970). His approach, however, extrapolates from Valerius Flaccus: under the influence of Virgil the Flavian epic poet has a more positive conception of the hero which colours Adamietz's reading, though Adamietz should have emphasized exactly the fundamental difference between the two epics.

In his comprehensive study of the *Herakles theme* Galinsky (1972) approaches the Herakles of Apollonius as a necessary foil to Jason, a "stone-age relic" representing an obsolete heroic ideal. According to Galinsky, one should not view Jason and Herakles as morally opposite because both have positive as well as negative characteristics; as an epic poet Apollonius is reticent on moral values. By pointing out this ambivalence Galinsky was ahead of his time. His thesis was much later adopted by Klein (1983) and Hunter (1988). The essayistic chapter in Heiserman (1977) shows the transient nature of trendy "literary criticism": the author combines a naïve aesthetic critique (the plot does not come to an end) with psychoanalytical dilettantism (Jason wanted to castrate Pelias and Aietes)—a definitely lethal combination.

The next important contributions are by Vian (1978) and Zanker (1979): Vian understands the "unheroic" in Jason and his proverbial ἀμηχανίη as positive characteristics that reflect a more contemporary heroic ideal and turn Jason into a likable "one of us". Zanker too sees in Jason a new kind of hero with whom humanity, and especially love, comes to the foreground. Jason's negative side is certainly not denied but (*pace* Lawall) definitely loses its importance. For Zanker the main aspect of the new heroic ideal is the respect for and the exploitation of love, a view that plays down the destructive aspects of love that also have a significant role in the *Argonautica*. Zanker is, however, correct in pointing out that (as is shown by the imitation of the *Argonautica* by Virgil and later epic poets) the most important innovation of Apollonius is the introduction of the love-theme into the epic.

Pike (1980) was the first to draw attention to the comic side of Herakles, thereby giving fresh impetus to the debate about the epic hero: if Herakles is a burlesque character, then his heroic persona can be understood as all the more anachronistic. At the same time, this view counteracts the darker, pessimistic reading of the *Argonautica* which was influenced by the Vietnam war in the 60's: the comic elements in the *Argonautica* had largely passed unnoticed until Pike's short article, which marks a turning point. Along the same lines Beye

(1982) has put forth an interpretation of the *Argonautica* that duly emphasizes the comic element—e.g. the entire Phaeacian episode is very perceptively read as comedy (in the ancient sense of the term). Beye's thesis of the "novelistic" character of the *Argonautica* is less convincing, because on the one hand it invokes an anachronistic category and on the other Apollonius lacks exactly the sentimentality that characterizes the later Greek novels.

The "anti-hero" Jason came somehow back to life with Klein (1983) who sees Jason as "hero *and* scoundrel": characteristic for Jason is the fundamental contradiction of his character which parallels the paradoxically epic and anti-epic nature of the *Argonautica*. Klein goes beyond this plausible thesis which can be justified in terms of the history of the genre and turns Apollonius into a philosophical sceptic who composed an epic *in utramque partem*, so to speak; ἀμηχανίη, the primary characteristic of the schizophrenic protagonist Jason, amounts to a sceptical virtue! Against this speculative view it should be sceptically objected that reasoned sceptical ἐποχή has nothing to do with Jason's helpless ἀμηχανίη, which was designed as the opposite to Odysseus' πολυμηχανίη.

An article by Rose (1984) takes the negative view of Jason and the entire team of the Argonauts a step further. Its purpose is to show through an interpretation of the Bebrykian episode that the Argonauts' loss of civilized values begins here and intensifies as the epic progresses (murder of Apsyrtos). Jason's behaviour toward Medea and his victory over Aietes, the son of Helios, won again with chthonic assistance, show the falling apart of moral order and a Nietzschean "subversion of all values". This "destructive" reading of the *Argonautica* finds its strongest version to date with Schwinge (1986): Apollonius' portrayal of the "anti-hero" Jason captures consciously and subversively the "paralysis of the epic" and drives home the impossibility of a heroic epic via the consequent undermining of the heroic ideal. Schwinge lambasts Jason: he is the non-hero *par excellence*, a pitiful weakling, and his heroism is a "heroism of drugs". Medea too, who in book 3 is still a likable heroine, becomes more and more entangled in injustice and is transformed into an abominable witch at the end of the epic (Talos episode). In the history of scholarship on Apollonius Schwinge's interpretation is perhaps the most radical attempt to take the destruction of epic heroism to the extreme; it is not surprising that later scholars did not follow him in this direction.

The credit for setting the debate on a more objective basis and

putting forth an innovative approach belongs to Hunter (1988). According to him Apollonius' main interest lies not in the essence of heroism; that Jason is portrayed sometimes as a Homeric hero and sometimes not reveals Apollonius' fondness for experimentation rather than a questioning of principles on his part or even the unravelling of epic heroism. There emerges now a more nuanced view of Apollonius' attitude to Homer: Apollonius is neither a mere epigone nor decidedly anti-Homeric but attempts to hammer out a compromise between tradition and innovation. Like Hunter, Goldhill (1991) makes a case for a similarly nuanced attitude of Apollonius to Homer by putting the issue of heroism in a broader context. The trend is thus set for the 90's when the emphasis on the reception of Homer dominates: Apollonius is now considered as a "consciously epigonal" poet who plays with the literary legacy (and the epic language too: see below 5) and the expectations of the reader that depend on it. Green (1988) coined the appropriate term "armchair epic" (though his article is rather disappointing and his approach largely outdated). By pointing out the influence of lyric poetry, Rosenmeyer (1992) has shown that Apollonius' intertextual debts go beyond epic; Jackson (1992), on the other hand, puts the "Hellenistic" hero Jason in a historical context.

Under the programmatic title *Κλέα γυναικῶν* Natzel (1992) studies systematically for the first time the portrayal of all women in the *Argonautica* and shows that Apollonius assigns to them an equally important role (see below 4.1). An interesting implication is that the evaluation of male heroism turns out to be fractured: among the Argonauts Jason is positively portrayed as a new kind of hero ("democratic heroism"), but his behaviour toward women brings out his moral weakness. It is thus possible to view Jason as an ambivalent hero without assuming that he was a split personality. This approach marks an advance in the debate about heroism without subscribing to any feminist ideology: women are no longer passively involved in the conception of heroism but help articulate it.

Hunter's *Literary Studies* (1993a) was published in the same year as his English translation of the *Argonautica*. The chapter on "heroism" expands his earlier article (1988); the ambivalent (or rather multivalent) conception of the epic hero outlined there is now applied not only to Jason but also to Herakles, who has comic, violent but also civilizing aspects. In general there emerges a subtle and thereby com-

plex, certainly elusive, view of the *Argonautica* which is fortunately unencumbered by any stereotyped or cliché-ridden interpretative scheme (see also below 4.2), whereas others (e.g. Pike [1993]) still fall back on generalizing categories ("anti-epic").

A remarkable, though partly anachronistic, contribution to this debate is Clauss' book (1993), a revised version of a 1983 Berkeley dissertation, as is evident (among other things) from the fact that the book echoes the Herakles-Jason contrast of the 70's and early 80's rather than the later approaches to the problem of heroism. In a detailed running commentary on (only) the first book of the *Argonautica*, Clauss attempts to show that this book amounts to a programmatic "redefinition of the epic hero". His conclusion is that, although Jason is vulnerable, dependent on the help of others and morally problematic, he is "the best of the Argonauts". This paradoxical "passive heroism" is explained in terms of the Argonauts' goal, which can be reached only collectively, not by a single Homeric warrior (as if the Trojan war were not a collective undertaking!). In contrast to Hunter (1988, 1993a) or even Natzel (1992), Clauss sees no ambivalent or multivalent heroism embodied in different ways by Jason, Herakles and the rest of the Argonauts but goes back (or rather sticks) to the already outdated contrast between the "archaic" active hero and the "modern" passive hero. Michna (1994) still subscribes to this simplistic view on account of the limited scope of his study (ἀρετή from Homer to Nonnus): in his chapter on Apollonius he argues that ἀρετή as physical prowess has no importance for Apollonius' modern conception of heroism.

DeForest (1994) relates the issues of heroism and "Callimacheanism" in an attempt to unify the two previously separate problems: the contrast between archaic and modern heroism (Herakles vs. Jason) is identified with the divide between Homeric and Callimachean poetics (epic vs. anti-epic) in a peculiar approach that combines literary interpretation with the theory of interpretation. As Apollonius embeds meta-theoretical reflection on the epic in the epic itself (see also below 4.2), DeForest similarly combines discourse on the epic with discourse on its meta-epic elements. This approach leads to such pithy aphorisms as "the Callimachean heroine has a Telchinian eye" or "in the Callimachean desert, the Argonauts are saved by the Homeric Heracles" (136). It is impossible to give here a summary of DeForest's fascinating and bewildering book; it nevertheless

deserves attention in that it is one of the few works on Apollonius that apply the methodology and terminology of modern theory of literature (H. Bloom, W. Booth, W. Iser).

With regard to modern theory of literature, the two articles by Williams (1996a, 1996b) are mentioned here only as an illustration of Bloom's Law ("if anything can be misunderstood, it will"). In the first, the amazed reader learns that the unheroic Jason is actually a Stoic προκόπτων (does perhaps Aeneas pop here unexpectedly around the corner?), whereas the second carries out the long overdue rehabilitation of Aietes, who is promoted not to a Stoic but to a Homeric hero (superior to Herakles!). This irrational interpretation seems to be ultimately informed by the unfortunate attempt to attribute to Apollonius "political correctness", inasmuch as he does not portray the "barbarian" Aietes in an entirely bad light. A similar approach is taken by Thiel (1996) who also aims to upgrade Aietes: though laughable in its uselessness, his panoply casts him as the "shining warrior" who at the end falls victim to an evil conspiracy; in connexion with the end of book 3 there is even talk of a tragic dimension of the Aietes figure. The ironic prophecy of Glei—Natzel-Glei (1996) "it is amazing that here too no one has detected a 'second voice' of Apollonius" (vol. 2, 189 n. 90) was thus fulfilled sooner than expected. At the end of the century the scholarship on Apollonius bears increasingly strange fruits. In his contribution to the volume on Medea edited by himself, Clauss (1997) studies Medea's role in the "redefinition of the epic hero" he had argued for earlier and reaches the amazing conclusion that Medea is portrayed as a "Mephistophelian Nausikaa"—a she-devil with whom Jason must come to terms in order to obtain mythical heroism in a post-mythical time. This demonization of Medea, which is at the antipodes of Apollonius' intention (see below 4.1), as well as Jason's undeserved promotion from a by no means "Faustian" hero to the "best of the Argonauts", show that interpretative efforts start going round and round.

Looking back over the last 40 years, it is evident that no issue in the scholarship on Apollonius has drawn more attention than the problem of heroism. The debate, however, has reached a point where either older arguments are recycled or novel, absurd theses are put forth. No stance is in view which is both fundamentally new and more plausible; it would perhaps be advisable finally to put an end to the debate and turn to other issues—were it not for the recently

published book by Pietsch (1999) which will renew the discussion (see below 4.2).

4. *Epic Technique*

4.1 *Characters*

With regard to characterization, the history of scholarship on the *Argonautica* reads as an attempt to revise the sweeping thesis put forth by van Krevelen (1956) in a short article published at the beginning of the period under survey: with the exception of Medea, Apollonius' heroes are largely colourless characters, insignificant extras, mute stooges who are as far away from the Homeric heroes as the in-people of the high-brow cultural metropolis of Alexandria were from bronze age princelings (van Krevelen of course put this differently). A host of studies of almost every character in the *Argonautica* has shown that this thesis is mistaken and that Apollonius' characters are by no means colourless. Especially in recent years it is the secondary characters of the *Argonautica* that have understandably attracted increasing attention, although the foreground is held by the study of the most important characters, which cannot be comprehensively summarised in this context. Jason and Herakles have already been discussed above in 3, and other characters will be addressed here only to the extent that they have not yet been taken into consideration. Medea is a particular case. Since it is impossible to summarize, even in an approximately comprehensive way, the scholarship on Medea, I will limit myself to a few important studies, especially those relevant to book 4; a few others will be addressed below in 7.

It is appropriate to begin with Herter's instructive article (1959) about Hera's delicate conversation with Thetis which is characterized as a "masterpiece of diplomatic politeness". In the two goddesses Apollonius portrayed two unhappily married ladies of Alexandrian high society who have a special relationship—a psychological finish worthy of Ovid (cf. also Natzel [1992]). Händel (1963) takes the same approach with his interpretation of "gods as persons": like Homer, Apollonius portrayed the gods not as impersonal powers but as living persons who, however, act less capriciously than their Homeric counterparts and hardly come in direct contact with humans. They are certainly integrated into the plot of the epic

but they also figure in independent subplots which bring out more clearly their liveliness. As the scholarly consensus has it, this liveliness or lifelike portrayal of the gods and other persons in the *Argonautica* derives from "Alexandrian realism" (see Zanker [1987]) so that Apollonius' mythological epic reflects the contemporary reality of Ptolemaic Egypt in the 3rd century B.C. The characters in this epic behave not as "heroes" of a long bygone era but rather as "people like you and me", like the poet himself and his readers (this is e.g. also the main thesis of George [1972] who illustrates it with the Lemnian episode). As a consequence, there is an interaction between the epic plot and the real world, inasmuch as real world characters act in a mythical setting. The narrative becomes consciously unrealistic, even comic in a certain way, only when fairy-tale elements are (or have to be) integrated into the epic plot, as Gaunt (1972) has shown in the case of the Argo scenes (passage through the Clashing Rocks and the Planktai, the transportation of Argo on land).

The influence of contemporary reality on Apollonius' presentation of the gods is not universally accepted: Lennox (1980) emphasizes the Homeric allusions in the famous opening scene of book 3 and sees in Hera, Athena and Aphrodite "Homeric goddesses, not Alexandrian ladies"; but the charm and the irony of the situation lies exactly in the conflation of both worlds (see Beye [1982] 125 ff.; Natzel [1992] 144 ff.). In a short but important article Klein (1980–81) reads functionally the following Eros scene, one of the loveliest parts of the epic, as an allusion to Jason's character via the "greedy and selfish Eros": Eros is exactly a parody of Jason. Thus we face again the issue of heroism.

A few words about Medea. The main problem is the unity of her character: is her role as "sorceress", already established in the myth, at odds with her portrayal by Apollonius in book 3 as an innocent maiden? Further, is there a breach in Medea's character between books 3 and 4, programmatically brought to the fore in the last Medea episode, the bewitchment of Talos (as in Paduano [1970–71])? So, is it the case that we have "two Medeas" (Paduano [[1972])? This (actual or supposed) "Dr. Jekyll – Mr. Hyde complexity" (Beye [1982] 133) has caused great problems in the relevant scholarship. Hunter (1987) rejects the question as unimportant in the light of the mythic traditions which Apollonius inherited, and Dyck (1989) too gets the problem out of the way by seeing as Apollonius' concern in book 4 not the integration of Medea's two characters but the

anticipation of her fate in Corinth. Medea consequently remains a split character. Natzel (1992) undertook the first serious attempt to prove the unity of Medea's character and the coherence of her portrayal also in book 4. Natzel's argumentation cannot be summarized here in detail. Her main thesis is that Apollonius strove openly either to downplay Medea's demonic streak or to rationalize it as a reaction to Jason's betrayal. Apollonius to a large extent dissociated Medea's sorcery from her character (as he did with the magical abilities of some Argonauts) and presented it as a τέχνη in quasi-realistic terms. Thus a substantial argument in favour of Medea's split personality collapses. As noted above, Natzel discusses the role of all women in the *Argonautica* (including goddesses) and consequently there are only a few other specialized studies in this area. The most important are Nelis (1991) about the priestess Iphias, Jackson (1997) about Kleite, the unfortunate widow of Kyzikos, and Korenjak (1997) about Ariadne (who appears only on a secondary level as an example). Medea has attracted considerable attention again only recently, especially in the volume edited by Clauss (1997) which includes three papers on Apollonius' Medea.

Finally, the following studies also deserve to be mentioned: Feeney (1991) has an important chapter on the gods in the *Argonautica*, but he overemphasizes the pessimistic aspects—the goddesses scene in book 3 is definitely among the most cheerful and comic in the entire epic! Subtler, as usual, is the relevant chapter in Hunter (1993a). The interesting figure of Orpheus is discussed in Nelis (1992) and Busch (1993): whereas Nelis relates the singer to the Homeric Demodokos, Busch sees in Orpheus a clear portrayal of the ideal artist. Manakidou (1995) studies the unfortunate seers Idmon, Mopsos and Phineus, Rostropowicz (1995) the gods in their function as σωτῆρες in the context of Ptolemaic royal cult and Byre (1996a, 1996b) the figure of Apsyrtos as well as Prometheus and Phaethon, each of whom is mentioned only once by Apollonius without appearing as characters in the epic. The attempt by Williams (1996b) to rehabilitate Aietes has already been mentioned. Surprisingly, studies of individual Argonauts are still missing: important characters of the epic have not been taken into consideration (with the exception of Jason, Herakles and a few others)—has anyone ever read anything about Kanthos, Lynkeus or Argos? In this area there is still some material for future study.

4.2 *Narrative technique*

The question of unity is again the main issue concerning Apollonius' narrative technique. Does the *Argonautica* possess narrative unity or is it an "episodic epic", as the first impression suggests? If the latter is the case, why did Apollonius break up the epic continuum into many episodes of arbitrary size? Many of the following studies are simply attempts to defend the unity of the *Argonautica*. I mention as an example Carrière (1959) and Phinney (1967) who, however, limit themselves to book 3 and leave us in the lurch precisely in the "episodic" books. Much more comprehensive is Hurst (1967) who aims at establishing the "cohérence" of the entire epic: the building blocks of the epic, elements, groups of elements ("ensembles") and segments, are defined in a complicated process, and structural coherence is supposed to consist in the repetition of these elements either symmetrically (A B—A' B') or in reverse order (A B—B' A'). However, the 37 structural schemata and the 6 tables do not make this *Glasperlenspiel* transparent; one is led to suspect that (as is also the case with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) such structural analyses stem from a fundamentally mistaken assumption. Instead of searching for hidden structural principles of increasing subtlety the following converse postulate should rather be put forward: when the structure is not plainly in view and transparent (and there is no reason to assume inability on the poet's part), the absence of structure is intentional and at issue is exactly the function of this absence. Whether this principle is operative in Apollonius scholarship will be seen later on.

At any rate, with Thierstein (1971) we are in deep waters: he attempts to clarify Apollonius' compositional technique and the arrangement of his material through the detailed articulation of individual "main blocks" (very different in length); yet the overall coherence of the epic is by no means established in this manner. The same applies to the "re-examination" of the *Argonautica* by Levin (1971): his study of individual episodes in "the neglected first and second books" (an announced second part dealing with books 3 and 4 has not appeared) contains useful observations, but no integration of these episodes into a "narrative unity" emerges and such integration is not even seriously attempted. Finally, Preininger's book (1976), a particularly frightening example, marks the zenith of the so-called structural analysis; it assumes that a poetic text can be approached via mathematical formulae, schemata and tables—and perhaps should better be forgotten.

Shapiro (1980) takes a totally different approach whose full implications are not, however, explored: the ἔκφρασις of Jason's cloak (the counterpart to the Homeric description of Achilles' shield) is interpreted poetologically as encapsulating Alexandrian aesthetics—naturalistic presentation, concatenation of individual scenes, variegation, genre-pieces etc. Shapiro could not or did not wish to extrapolate from the poetic technique of the ἔκφρασις to the entire epic. Beye (1982) made the long overdue turn from fruitless structural analysis to a modern approach informed by the theory of literature. As has been pointed out above in 3, he analyzes narrative technique primarily in terms of genre-theory. The study by Deutsch (1982) is mainly traditional but nevertheless important for the understanding of Apollonius' narrative technique and focuses on aetiology, in which Deutsch sees not a mere show of learning but a structural function mediating between poet and reader. Here appears for the first time the enclosure of narrative levels, a characteristically Apollonian technique which forms the subject of Fusillo's book (1985). Although the latter is definitely the most important study in this area, it seems that it has not always been appreciated as such. Fusillo attacks the epic with the complete arsenal of modern narratology: in full war regalia he scares away good old classical scholars with evil verbal spectres like "Analessi/Prolessi omodiegetiche/eterodiegetiche interne/esterne" and the like, which has not helped the reception of his book. In the context of this survey it is not possible to comment on all aspects of this rich study, which undoubtedly deserves more attention. In a nutshell, Fusillo sets out to establish the "carattere metanarrativo delle Argonautiche" (360), i.e. Apollonius' conscious turn from traditional (Homeric) narrative to the enclosure of temporal levels, whose subject is the narrative process itself and which is showcased in its manifold possibilities (see also Deli [1995]): the time of the narrative is repeatedly disrupted by flashbacks (e.g. narratives of the mythical past relevant to the present of the epic narrative) and foreshadowings (e.g. αἴτια as actualization of myths in the narrator's present); ethnographic excursions, ἐκφράσεις and similes are also studied in terms of their specific narratological function, and at the end the meta-epic character of the *Argonautica* is clarified through the alternation of narrative perspectives and manifold authorial comments (more recent studies along the same lines are Byre [1991], Angiò [1995] and finally Albis [1996]).

Hutchinson (1988) presents the essential information in handbook-like fashion and tries to establish the unity of the *Argonautica* along

traditional lines, although he occasionally puts forth rather novel suggestions, e.g. about the αἴτια. The latter are also the focus of the comprehensive study by Valverde Sánchez (1989) who, like Deutsch and Fusillo, convincingly interprets the αἴτια as integral, constitutive elements of the epic narrative. Williams (1991) studies landscape in the *Argonautica*, showing that the close interlacing of landscape description and epic plot turns landscape into an integral element of the narrative. Gummert (1992) undertakes a new attempt to clarify the narrative structure of the *Argonautica*. He argues cogently that earlier scholarship took for granted—consciously or unconsciously—the Aristotelian concept of unity which Apollonius had obviously rejected. Not surprisingly, in his narratological analysis of the epic Gummert often reaches conclusions similar to Fusillo's, although he lays greater emphasis on Apollonius' intention to provide the reader with all relevant details of the myth in the fashion of universal history. Considerably less demanding from a theoretical point of view is the book by Thiel (1993), who nevertheless offers a multitude of detailed remarks on the ἐκφράσεις, although their narrative function is not convincingly clarified.

Jackson's book (1993), chapters of which had appeared earlier, brings out Apollonius' technique of "creative selectivity": Apollonius treats his sources in a highly selective manner in order to achieve a novel arrangement of his material and enrich it with his own peculiar elements. This is an undoubtedly plausible interpretation, but does not every author behave in this manner? In any case, it is hardly possible to identify a specifically Apollonian technique on such an assumption. Beye (1993) offers an excellent overview of the *status quaestionis*, if one disregards his constant psychoanalytical abuse of Apollonius' text (e.g. in interpreting Hylas' cry as the boy's first orgasm!). Carrying on his *maius opus* Fusillo (1993a) studies the relation between description and narrative in his usual hermetic terminology. One is therefore glad that Hunter (1993a)—among other things already mentioned above—also gives a readable introduction to the conclusions of the narratological approach which thus become widely accessible (see especially his ch. 5 (i): "The Epic Voice").

The reworking of Homeric narrative technique is studied in detail by Knight (1995). Originally a 1990 Cambridge dissertation (supervised by Hunter), her book focuses on Apollonius' use of Homeric "typical scenes" (e.g. battle scenes) as well as on the literary relation between the Argonautic expedition and the adventures of Odysseus.

It thus becomes evident that previous scholarship had hardly explored the full implications of the Homeric text for the interpretation of Apollonius. Knight's brilliant study marks an essential step in this direction. Kyriakou (1995) approaches the Hellenistic epic from a totally different angle: influenced by Hunter, her "literary study" shows Apollonius' subtle literary (not linguistic—see below 5) play with Homeric *hapax legomena* which invoke Homeric scenes and serve as an interpretative framework for Apollonius' own scenes. One can, therefore, claim without exaggeration that, as far as literary interpretation is concerned, contemporary scholarship on Apollonius is directly or indirectly dominated by Hunter—and justly so: the nuances, complexity and accumulation of relevant interpretative contexts (including reception) show the way for future research.

I should finally mention the book by Pietsch (1999) which reached my desk fresh from the press just before the completion of this survey and again puts the problem of unity in the foreground. A comprehensive summary of this very detailed study cannot be given here. It is an important attempt to show that, contrary to the *communis opinio*, the *Argonautica* is in every respect a coherent work which does not ironically subvert the epic tradition, but rather promotes it. Wisely avoiding the extremes of structural analysis in pseudo-mathematical terms, Pietsch puts forth a subtle interpretation of the epic along lines that in a way can be called philosophical. Although occasional, if understandable, over-interpretations should be pointed out, and despite the fact that the comic dimension of the *Argonautica* is unjustly left out of consideration, Pietsch reaches many convincing conclusions, e.g. as to the external motivation of the plot, the central theme of the *Argonautica* and the unity of the characters. At any rate, Pietsch's book sets out an overall interpretation of the epic which one cannot ignore.

4.3 *Similes*

A detailed overview of the scholarship on similes is unnecessary because one of the articles in this volume is devoted to similes. Thus I limit myself to pointing out and commenting briefly on the most important works. The older scholarship was dominated by the book of Drögemüller (1956), which dealt with the function and themes of all similes in the *Argonautica*. He distinguished three functional categories of similes (verification, action and motivation similes) and four

thematic ones (animal, nature, divine and human world similes). He stressed Apollonius' innovation with respect to Homer in all thematic categories and, especially in the last one, the characteristically "Hellenistic" interest in the realistic representation of as many aspects of life as possible. The short articles of Anderson (1957) and James (1969) see in the divergence from Homer an attempt to make Homeric similes more "precise" and detect an implicit critique on Apollonius' part. Clack (1973), on the other hand, studies the Medea similes and focuses on the subtle psychological portrayal. Kofler (1992; 1994) analyzes the bee simile for the Lemnian women and sees very wide-ranging, not always substantiated, parallels between simile and narrative: for instance, the ancient uncertainty about bee reproduction supposedly reflects the impression the manless island of Lemnos made on the Argonauts, as if the latter would have believed that the Lemnian women reproduced by cloning. Finally, Kouremenos (1996) associates the "programmatic similes" for Jason and Herakles with the theme of heroism and identifies the well-known contrast also on the level of similes.

Forty years after Drögemüller a new comprehensive work on the similes was published by Reitz (1996). It differs from its predecessor mainly in that it stresses the learned, even scientific character of the similes. Reitz claims that Apollonius' similes, drawing on philosophy, medicine/natural sciences, language/etymology as well as style/style theory, reflect contemporary scientific discoveries and thus go well beyond Homer. What is too brief or totally absent from the work of Reitz is a discussion of the role of the similes in epic narrative and characterization. Coincidentally, at the same time Effe (1996) stressed exactly this aspect in his work (see also his contribution in this volume). He shows that the similes of Apollonius cite Homer in imitation but also at the same time transcend him through innovation—a conclusion undoubtedly applicable to Apollonius' imitation of Homer in general. Thus the "material" or "functional" interpretations of Reitz and Effe work side by side, showing once again that, in view of the growing specialization in scholarship, complementary approaches should be increasingly adopted.

5. *Philology: Apollonius and Homer*

Apollonius' relationship to Homer is naturally a much investigated area whose several aspects cannot be dealt with here. Some remarks

were made in the discussion of heroism and epic technique, but much else must be left aside. In this chapter I will provide only a brief overview of the most important trends in the study of Apollonius' linguistic peculiarities, an area which more than any other reveals the identity, or at least the interaction, of the poet and the scholar in Apollonius. Only an outline of this area can be provided here: individual works, of which there are many on the topic, are mentioned only when their conclusions are of a more general character or have wider implications.

The first work that should be mentioned appeared shortly before the beginning of the period this survey covers. In a detailed study of the Homeric text of Apollonius, Erbse (1953) reached the provocative conclusion that Apollonius had no interest in contemporary philology, or that at any rate there is no trace of such interest in the *Argonautica*. Scholars did not agree with him. On the contrary, it was widely assumed as self-evident that the scholar Apollonius consciously saw the epic language of the *Argonautica* as intertextual medium of opposition to Homer. Favourite subjects were formulas, *hapax/dis legomena* and all in various ways important "Homeric words". A host of relevant observations is to be found mainly in commentaries and miscellanies (a kind of work devoted to such *minutiae*). All this cannot be evaluated in this survey.

Campbell (1981a) compiled a comprehensive collection of the Homeric linguistic legacy (including the *Hesiodea* and the *Hymns*) in Apollonius and brought out the main paradox that characterizes Apollonius' epic language: Apollonius uses Homeric formulas but his epic is not formulaic (see especially Fantuzzi [1988] 7ff. and his contribution to the present volume). All formulas in Apollonius are citations, i.e. the reader is supposed to identify the allusion to a Homeric formula and at the same time its specific modification. It is not easy to detect the purpose of this practice, a problem which Campbell's collection naturally leaves open: is it only a scholar's linguistic game meant for scholars, i.e. is it somehow a case of *l'art pour l'art*, an ostentatious display of learning as an end in itself with the sole purpose of alluding to Homeric material without pursuing any further goal? This was certainly the central doctrine of the Italian "arte allusiva" school, with Giangrande (1967, 1970, 1973a–c) and Livrea (1972) as its spokesmen. According to them, Apollonius often alludes to exegetically problematic "Homeric words" or to variants of the Homeric text without favouring any particular exegesis or variant. The complicated and polemical controversy about "arte allusiva"

cannot be presented here in detail. The two books by Rengakos (1993, 1994a; cf. also his article in this volume), who has demonstrated beyond any doubt Apollonius' philological contribution to Homeric textual criticism and exegesis, should lay the issue to rest, at least temporarily. No scholarly conclusion is of course final but the "half-life" of Rengakos' books should be comparable to that of the relevant works by Merkel (1854) and Erbse (1953).

6. *Priority: Apollonius and Theocritus*

Questions of relative chronology cannot in principle be resolved when external chronological evidence is missing since arguments put forward can also be turned the other way round. Despite their sophistical roots, classical scholars do not generally wish to admit that much, and thus debates on relative chronology are popular enough to keep an entire publication industry going. An instructive example of the pointlessness of such efforts is the debate on the relative chronology of Apollonius and Theocritus. As is well known, the latter dealt with two episodes that appear in the *Argonautica*, too: the rape of Hylas and Herakles' desertion of the Argonautic expedition as a consequence (*Id.* 13), and the boxing match between Amykos and Polydeukes (*Id.* 22). The parallels, which in many respects represent two different versions of the stories, have understandably led to the question which of the two contemporary poets creatively used or "corrected" the other.

A table of the conceivable possibilities may be drawn up, with individual works assigned to the various combinations, in some such manner: chronological priority of Theocritus in the Hylas and Amykos stories: Köhnken (1965; cf. also his article in the present volume); chronological priority of Apollonius in the Hylas and Amykos stories: Fuchs (1969); chronological priority of Apollonius in the Hylas story (no pronouncement on Amykos): Webster (1963), Serrao (1965), Pulbrook (1983), Palombi (1985), Effe (1992); chronological priority of Theocritus in the Hylas story (no pronouncement on Amykos): Tränkle (1963), Bernsdorff (1994); chronological priority of Apollonius in the Amykos story (no pronouncement on Hylas): Hagopian (1955); chronological priority of Theocritus in the Amykos story (no pronouncement on Hylas): Lenk (1984), etc.

A diligent doctoral student might complete this table and suggest

a view that has not been put forth yet: it is indeed surprising that the majority of interpreters focus on one of the two stories and leave out the other, while others assume the chronological priority of Theocritus or Apollonius in both cases. The possibility of a different relative chronology for each story has not been considered so far and thus the hypothetical doctoral student could postulate that e.g. Theocritus composed the Hylas story before Apollonius but Apollonius composed the Amykos story before Theocritus.

This hypothetical combination, as well as its converse, could be supported with good arguments: for example, the Argonauts in Theocritus mock Herakles who looks for Hylas as λιποναύτης, and it is said that he later reached the Colchians on foot; in Apollonius, on the other hand, the Argonauts do not notice Herakles' absence at first and then fight among themselves because of the hasty departure, but Herakles never rejoins them. This looks like Apollonius' "correction" because Theocritus would not have suggested such an "illogicality", had he known the *Argonautica*. The opposite is true for the Amykos story: in Theocritus Amykos is not killed, but is only taught a painful lesson and promises improvement. Thus Theocritus appears to have rendered the "hard" epic version of the story innocuous, like a show in an annual festival. It would then appear plausible that Theocritus, after Apollonius "corrected" him in the Hylas-Herakles story and presented a more convincing version of the myth, took his revenge and presented Apollonius' gruesome Amykos episode in a more humane fashion, which Virgil also followed.

Let this suffice here as a mere hint: further arguments may easily be collected from the relevant publications. For the rest: I relinquish my claim to this idea and hand it down to scholarly posterity.

7. *Magic and Other* Realien

In contrast to the impasse in the debate over relative chronology, the *Realien* in the field of cultural history still offer many stimuli for possible scholarly innovation: wide swathes of Apollonian learning—in ethnography, geography, technology and natural sciences, folk-religion and supernatural beliefs, to mention only the most important—have not been adequately studied, although there is broad consensus that the references to all these fields constitute an important dimension of the *Argonautica* and of Hellenistic poetry in general.

The fact that the old dissertation by Teufel (1939) on *Brauch und Ritus* in Apollonius has not been superseded to date is symptomatic of this situation: it is the only comprehensive study of the ethnological material in the *Argonautica* (magic, expiation rites, cults, omens, "folklore") and needs urgent replacement. The commentaries, and especially Fränkel's *Noten* (1968), contain rich relevant material and show Apollonius' tendency to rationalize the supernatural as much as possible: Medea's magical abilities are often presented in terms of advanced knowledge in pharmacology rather than sorcery (as the traditional view goes, which still survives: see Belloni [1981]). It would be an exaggeration to deny any supernatural element and e.g. attempt to classify botanically—following Clark (1968)—plants like the magical herb which sprouted out of Prometheus' blood (the parallel to the Homeric μῶλυ). In this case literary tradition, popular beliefs and reality coalesce, but Fränkel is certainly correct in attributing to Apollonius a rational worldview, whereby the poet keeps a self-conscious distance from the supernatural elements he found in myth and included in his epic.

Most studies in the area of cultural history concentrate on particular points which are not applied to the interpretation of the epic as a whole. Some examples: Markovich (1969) discusses the rituals Jason performs on the corpse of Apsyrtos ("blood-brotherhood with the dead man") but does not touch on the implicit moral question; Smid (1970) interprets the tidal wave in the passage through the Clashing Rocks as a "tsunami", a natural phenomenon, without drawing any conclusion as to the navigational achievements of the Argonauts; Werner (1980) correctly points out that Kirke and Medea talk in the language of the Colchians so that Jason cannot understand them, but does not relate it to the κοινή spoken elsewhere in the epic; Kessels (1982) studies the dreams in the *Argonautica* without deducing a conception of dreaming peculiar to Apollonius and based on post-Aristotelian science. The examples can easily be multiplied.

In other areas too little work, if any, has been done. After the old study by Delage (1930) the geography of the *Argonautica* (especially of the return trip, which seems to be fantastic: cf. Vian [1987a]) has not been studied in detail again; it is beyond doubt that Apollonius drew upon contemporary science (see Meyer's contribution in this volume): e.g. his use of maps has always been assumed, but it was established for the first time with textual evidence by Glei—Natzel-Glei (1996). Shipbuilding and navigation have not been taken seri-

ously as scientific areas (with the notable exception of Lehmann [1969]): one thinks of the launch of Argo or sailing by the shadow of Athos which is visible as far as Myrine in Lemnos (it is not discussed in Livrea [1979]); the view of the Argo-Nautica as "a nautical epos" (Rostropowicz [1990]) does not seem to have generated any interest. On account of its central role in the epic magic is the only area where particular issues have attracted considerable attention: Griffiths (1990) studies the expiation rites performed by Kirke, Dickie (1990) the bewitchment of Talos by the evil eye (cf. the general discussion in Rakoczy [1996]), Parry (1992) the relationship between the witches Kirke and Medea (very speculative). In an interesting article Hunter (1991) studies the—very subtle—portrayal of "Greek and non-Greek" in the *Argonautica*, showing that Apollonius does not operate with the simplistic dichotomy between Greeks and barbarians. Kyriakou (1994) discusses the Empedoclean allusions in the song of Orpheus and elsewhere, and shows Apollonius' learned background in natural philosophy; the scientific foundations of the similes have been discussed, as said above, by Reitz (1996).

In general, one can conclude that in the area of cultural history much work remains to be done in collecting and classifying the extensive evidence, and especially in integrating elements from the cultural and literary fields. Here too there is a new starting point for fruitful interdisciplinary study.

Apollonius 2000 and Beyond: Prospects

The survey of scholarship on the *Argonautica* in the last 40–45 years has shown that in most areas—with the exception of the last one—we are at a stage where further efforts at the present rate seem to be either superfluous or not very promising. Either magisterial studies have made such substantial advances that the ἐπίγονοι can only hope for mere crumbs, or the problems are so complicated (if not unsolvable) that scholarship goes round and round in fruitless debate. This is of course not a plea for a temporary halt to scholarly work on Apollonius, but an urgent appeal for attention to areas that promise to be more fruitful than the 1001st study on Jason's heroism or even on relative chronology. I see mainly two possibilities: one lies, as noted in the last chapter, in the area of cultural history (in the broadest sense of the term) and the other in the area of

reception. With two exceptions the latter is virtually unexplored: only the relation between Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus has been studied to a certain extent, and there are also many studies on Virgil's debts to Apollonius (although there is no exhaustive "Knauer" to date and we are still waiting for Nelis' book on that subject). For all other ancient authors there are only isolated remarks, if any, and the wide area of the reception of Apollonius in modern times is almost entirely intact. Here lie opportunities for future research that should definitely be explored.

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE *ARGONAUTICA*[1]

Gerson Schade – Paolo Eleuteri

1. *The History of the Text in Antiquity*

The beginning of the textual history of the *Argonautica* is closely bound up with reports of an alleged rivalry between Apollonius and Callimachus. The problems concerning these reports must therefore be briefly outlined.

There are three testimonies for the supposed quarrel, all of them late: the Suda article on Callimachus, the Byzantine poem which precedes the Callimachean *Hymns* in the manuscripts, and a marginal note in *AP* 11.275.[2] In the Suda we read that Callimachus' *Ibis* is directed against Apollonius: ἔστι δὲ ποίημα ἐπιτετηδευμένον εἰς ἀσάφειαν καὶ λοιδορίαν, εἴς τινα Ἶβιν, γενόμενον ἐχθρὸν τοῦ Καλλιμάχου· ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ γράψας τὰ Ἀργοναυτικά, "a poem of deliberate obscurity and abuse against a certain Ibis, who was Callimachus' enemy; this person was Apollonius, the author of the *Argonautica*".[3] Likewise, in the above-mentioned Byzantine poem we read that Callimachus had ridiculed Apollonius: σκώπτω δ' ἐπαραῖς ἶβιν Ἀπολλώνιον.[4] Finally, in the third testimony the object of ridicule is Callimachus himself, who is called ξύλινος νοῦς and whose *Aitia* are κάθαρμα and παίγνιον.[5] The marginal note ascribes the anonymous epigram to Apollonius Rhodius.

The reason for the controversy is assumed to be Callimachus' judgement on epic in general or at least that particular kind of epic which celebrates the deeds of kings and heroes in a continuous narrative of many thousand lines. Countering the charge that he has not written ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές, Callimachus speaks out in a prominent

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[1] The first part (*The History of the Text in Antiquity*) and the Appendix are by Gerson Schade, the second (*The Medieval Tradition*) by Paolo Eleuteri.

[2] Collected in Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XCV, XCVIII f. (T 1, 23 and 25).

[3] Pfeiffer T 1.13–15.

[4] Pfeiffer T 23.8.

[5] Pfeiffer T 25.

passage of the *Aitia* prologue which is directed against his critics, the Telchines.[6] Furthermore, the personal closure of the *Hymn to Apollo*, where Callimachus expresses his preference for the small spring over the muddy Euphrates,[7] is a poetological statement against grand epic.[8]

Since the days of Dionysius Salvaginus and Isaac Vossius philological criticism has assumed that Callimachus in his *Hymn to Apollo* attacked Apollonius,[9] and the latter has been suspected to be among Callimachus' Telchines. However, Apollonius is missing in the list of Telchines preserved in the *scholia Florentina* to the *Aitia* prologue,[10] nor can his name be inserted into one of the papyrus *lacunae.*[11] There is also much doubt as to whether it is Apollonius who is meant at the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*,[12] since the *Argonautica* can hardly be classified as anti-Callimachean.[13] In general, the testimony for the supposed disagreement between Callimachus and Apollonius is too questionable to be used as evidence:[14] The Suda article about the target of Callimachus' *Ibis* is obviously based on inferences from the biographical tradition, and so is the Byzantine poem just mentioned. In the heading of the *Anthologia Palatina* an Ἀπολλώνιος γραμματικός is named as the author of the epigram, while he is called Ῥόδιος only by the writer of the *lemmata* of the other epigrams; in Planudes and Eustathius the epigram in question is anonymous.[15]

With regard to the textual history of the *Argonautica* it was necessary to touch upon this pseudo-controversy since there are notices concerning the genesis of the *Argonautica* which point to a literary dispute.[16]

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[6] Fr. 1.1–6 Pfeiffer; cf. also *Epigr.* 28.1 ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν.

[7] *Ap.* 105–13.

[8] Cf. *scholion* on v. 106: ἐγκαλεῖ διὰ τούτων τοὺς σκώπτοντας αὐτὸν μὴ δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μέγα ποίημα.

[9] Pfeiffer (1970) 179 n. 128.

[10] PSI 1219 fr. 1.

[11] Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. I, 3 on *sch. Flor.* 11.

[12] Cf., e.g., Pfeiffer, *Hermes* 63 (1928) 341 (= [1960] 132), and Erbse (1953) 195 f.; also Erbse (1955) 427 f.

[13] Cf., e.g., Hopkinson (1988) 182: "If Callimachus appreciated any ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές, it must have been this one".

[14] Lefkowitz (1980); also (1981) 117–35.

[15] Pfeiffer (1970) 179, Hutchinson (1988) 86 f., Easterling – Knox (1985) 819 are sceptical too.

[16] On the context of the "Alexandrian 'Battle of the Books'" cf. Bulloch, in: Easterling – Knox (1985) 561.

For Apollonius' life and work there are four sources: the list of the heads of the Alexandrian Library in P. Oxy. 1241, the Suda article and two short biographies;[17] we also have six passages in the *scholia* to the *Argonautica* which speak of a προέκδοσις.[18] In view of the above, what are the conclusions to be drawn?

The first two sources are noticeable only in so far as the papyrus places Apollonius as head of the Library between Zenodotus and Eratosthenes, thus allowing an approximate dating; further, the Suda s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος has nothing about the supposed quarrel, which appears only s.v. Καλλίμαχος. Of great interest, however, are the two short biographies which (internal contradictions apart) seem to contradict each other[19] but give some hints for the textual history.

The first *Vita* contends that Apollonius began writing poetry late in life: ὀψὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ποιήματα ἐτράπετο.[20] The *Vita* then goes on to report a rumour according to which Apollonius, while still a young man, gave a public reading of his *Argonautica* for the first time and met with disapproval: τοῦτον λέγεται ἔτι ἔφηβον ὄντα ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ Ἀργοναυτικὰ καὶ κατεγνῶσθαι.[21] Because of this failure, Apollonius left Alexandria for Rhodes, where he lived as a highly esteemed citizen and as successful poet and teacher: ἐπαίδευσε δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς Ῥοδίων πολιτείας καὶ τιμῆς ἠξιώθη.[22] Thus ends the first βίος. The second βίος also states that Apollonius left Alexandria and lived in Rhodes (σφόδρα δὲ ἀποτυχὼν καὶ ἐρυθριάσας παρεγένετο ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ);[23] but it concludes with the report that, as some people said (τινὲς δέ φασιν),[24] he returned to Alexandria and was rehabilitated, adding that he was even buried next to Callimachus.

The above-mentioned *epideixis* in Alexandria may be seen as the first stage in the publication of the *Argonautica*,[25] and the προέκδοσις

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[17] Text of the *Vitae* in Wendel (1935) 1 f., partly in Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XCVI (T 11) and Fraser (1972) vol. II, 1055 (n. 265); on the biography of Apollonius Rhodius see Lloyd-Jones (1984) and Rengakos (1992a).

[18] Collected and discussed by Mooney (1912) 403–11; Emonds (1941) 290–305; Fantuzzi (1988) 87–120.

[19] Cf., e.g., Pfeiffer (1970) 177 f.; Cameron (1995) 214–19.

[20] Wendel (1935) 1.8 f.

[21] Wendel (1935) 1.10 f.; because of the contradiction to the preceding sentence Wendel considers ἐπὶ ἐφήβων.

[22] Wendel (1935) 2.1 f.

[23] Wendel (1935) 2.7.

[24] Wendel (1935) 2.11.

[25] Herter (1956) 230.

reported in the *scholia* might be associated with this first version. Indeed, the *scholia* cite repeatedly from a προέκδοσις of the *Argonautica*, and it is "die naheliegende Folgerung, daß die Leute, welche die Argonautika herausgaben, zwei voneinander abweichende Texte hatten, deren einen sie für einen vorläufigen, den anderen folglich für den endgültigen oder verbindlichen Text des Gedichtes hielten".[26] What is the evidence for this?

The προέκδοσις is cited in the *scholia* in the following places (the *scholia* of the mss. L and P are occasionally at variance):[27]

(I) 1.284 νῦν γε μὲν ἡ τὸ πάροιθεν Ἀχαιιάδεσσιν ἀγητὴ
δμωὶς ὅπως κενεοῖσι λελείψομαι ἐν μεγάροισι,
σεῖο πόθῳ μινύθουσα δυσάμμορος . . .

But now I, who before was admired among Achaean women, like a slave shall be left behind in the empty palace, waisting away in my wretchedness and longing for you . . .

For 1.285 the different version of the προέκδοσις is cited and a slight variant for the following line 1.286 is also reported: ἐν τῇ προεκδόσει κεῖται· "βείομαι οὐλομένοισιν (L, ἐν μεγάροισιν P) ὀιζυρὴ ἀχέεσσιν" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς "σεῖο πόθῳ, φίλε κοῦρε, δυσάμμορος", "I will live longing for you, my dear child, wretched in my miserable distress". Two lines were thus different.

(II) 1.516 οὐδ' ἐπὶ δὴν μετέπειτα κερασσάμενοι Διὶ λοιβάς,
ᾗ θέμις, ἑστεῶτες ἐπὶ γλώσσῃσι χέοντο
αἰθομέναις, ὕπνου δὲ διὰ κνέφας ἐμνώοντο.
Αὐτὰρ ὅτ' αἰγλήεσσα φαεινοῖς ὄμμασιν Ἠὼς
Πηλίου αἰπεινὰς ἴδεν ἄκριας, ἐκ δ' ἀνέμοιο
εὔδιοι ἐκλύζοντο τινασσομένης ἁλὸς ἀκταί,
δὴ τότ' ἀνέγρετο Τῖφυς, ἄφαρ δ' ὀρόθυνεν ἑταίρους
βαινέμεναί τ' ἐπί νῆα καὶ ἀρτύνασθαι ἐρετμά.

Not long afterwards they mixed libations to Zeus as ritual demanded, and as they stood they poured these over the burning tongues of the sacrifices; then their thoughts turned to sleep in the dark of night. When the shining eyes of gleaming Dawn beheld the steep ridges of Pelion and under a clear sky the headlands were washed by a sea stirred up in the breeze, then Tiphys awoke. At once he roused his comrades to go on board and to make ready the oars.

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[26] Pfeiffer (1970) 178 f.

[27] Variants are given in the critical apparatuses of Fränkel (1961) and Vian (1974a). Only L has the variants III, V and VI. Translations from the *Argonautica* are by R. Hunter.

The passage 1.516–23 was different in the προέκδοσις. However, the *scholia* cite only four lines (L, P); the beginning of a fifth is still to be seen in P: ἐν δὲ τῇ προεκδόσει μετὰ τοῦτο (scil. 1.515) γέγραπται· "ἦμος δὲ τριτάτη φάνη ἠώς (L, ὁδὸς P) τῇδ' ἐπὶ νυκτί (P, νύκτα L)/ βουθύσιον (L, βουθυσίην P) Ἑκάτοιο καταυτόθι δαινυμένοισι,/τῆμος ἄρ ἐκ Διόθεν πνοιὴ πέσεν, ὦρτο δὲ Τῖφυς/κεκλόμενος βαίνειν ἐπὶ σέλμασι· τοὶ (L, σέλμασιν· οἱ P) δ' ἀίοντες <. . .>", "when the third dawn appeared upon the night when they were feasting after their sacrifice to the Far-Darter, then a wind from Zeus blew on them, and Tiphys rose, summoning them to their benches. They heeded his call . . ." (transl. P. Green). Only P continues ἰθὺς ἔβαινον ("and moved on the instant") so we have certainly to assume a textual loss, since the text could not have continued with 1.524, as the preserved *scholia* text does: ἑξῆς δὲ τῶν ἐκκειμένων "σμερδαλέον δὲ λιμὴν" (*scil.* 1.524). Five lines at least were thus different.

(III) 1.542 ἀφρῷ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κελαινὴ κήκιεν ἅλμη
δεινὸν μορμύρουσα περισθενέων μένει ἀνδρῶν.

Waves rose and on both sides the dark ocean seethed with foam as it churned over at the strength of these powerful men.

For 1.543 the προέκδοσις offered a slightly different variant: ἐν δὲ τῇ προεκδόσει: "μορμύρουσα τυπῇσιν ἐρισθενέων μένει ἀνδρῶν", "churned over at the blows of the powerful men". One line was thus different.

(IV) 1.725 τῆς μὲν ῥηίτερόν κεν ἐς ἠέλιον ἀνιόντα
ὄσσε βάλοις ἢ κεῖνο μεταβλέψειας ἔρευθος·
δὴ γάρ τοι μέσση μὲν ἐρευθήεσσα τέτυκτο·
ἄκρα δὲ πορφυρέη πάντη πέλεν . . .

You could cast your eyes more easily towards the rising sun than gaze upon the brilliant redness of the cloak. Its centre was bright red, the border all the way round purple . . .

On 1.725 the *scholia* testify that in the προέκδοσις two lines were missing, which are now to be found in our text as 1.726 f.: ἐν τῇ προεκδόσει τῷ "τῆς μὲν ῥηίτερόν κεν" (1.725) ἑξῆς ἐστιν "ἄκρα δὲ πορφυρέη" (1.728), οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ δύο οὐκ εἰσίν.

(V) 1.788 ἔνθα μιν Ἰφινόη κλισμῷ ἔνι παμφανόωντι
ἐσσυμένως καλῆς διὰ παστάδος εἷσεν ἄγουσα.

And Iphinoe led him quickly through a beautiful porch and bade him sit on a bright couch . . .

For 1.788 f. the *scholia* cite two different lines from the προέκδοσις (in the first the second half is different, in the second one the middle): ἐν τῇ προεκδόσει· "ἔνθα μιν Ἰφινόη προδόμου διὰ ποιητοῖο/ ἐσσυμένως καλῆς ἐπὶ δίφρακος εἷσεν ἄγουσα", "and Iphinoe led him quickly through the well-made vestibule and bade him sit on a beautiful chair". Two lines were thus different.

(VI) 1.800 Λήμνου ἀπορνύμενοι λαοὶ πέρθεσκον ἐναύλους
ἐκ νηῶν, αὐτῇσι δ' ἀπείρονα ληίδα κούραις
δεῦρ' ἄγον. οὐλομένη δὲ θεᾶς πορσύνετο μῆνις
Κύπριδος, ἥ τέ σφιν θυμοφθόρον ἔμβαλεν ἄτην.

Our men launched raids from their ships on the homes of the Thracians who live opposite and brought back here a great haul of booty together with young girls. However, the wrath of Kypris, a deadly goddess, was at work, for she cast mind-destroying folly upon them.

For the passage 1.801–3 the *scholia* cite four lines, one more as against the final version: ἐν δὲ τῇ προεκδόσει· "ἐκ νηῶν, ἄμυδις δὲ βόας καὶ μῆλα κόμιζον/αὐτῇσιν κούρῃσιν ἀπείρονα ληίδα δεῦρο./καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἀνὰ δῆμον ἀάατος ἔμπεσε λύσσα,/οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ θεόθεν ἢ αὐτῶν ἀφροσύνῃσι", "and rustle back sheep here in droves, together with oxen and women besides, loot in abundance. And then an invincible madness descended on the people, I know not whether godsent or through their own folly" (transl. P. Green).

It is very likely that in one further place the *scholia* preserve the text of the προέκδοσις, this time in book 2.

(VII) 2.963 λεῖπον Ἅλυν ποταμόν, λεῖπον δ' ἀγχίρροον Ἶριν
ἠδὲ καὶ Ἀσσυρίης πρόχυσιν χθονὸς . . .

They left behind the river Halys; behind too fell the Iris which flowed nearby, and the alluvial coast of Assyria.

The scholiast gives a different text, noting ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω· "λεῖπον Ἅλυν ποταμόν, λεῖπον δ' (δ' *om.* P) ἁλιμυρέα χώραν/Ἀσσυρίης ἀνέχουσαν ἀπὸ χθονός" (Ἀσσυρίης κτλ. *om.* P), "they left behind the river Halys; behind too they left the sea-washed Assyria jutting out from the mainland"—a note which does not refer to anything that has preceded the passage and therefore must introduce a variant from an older version of the text.

On the whole the προέκδοσις of the first book of the *Argonautica* contained (at least) fourteen different lines, while two lines of the extant version were missing. The προέκδοσις of book 2 had two

trace of such variants in these two papyri—whose importance as witnesses is beyond doubt. First, not only does P. Amherst 16 (2nd/3rd cent.) as unique witness of the direct tradition give the correct διὰ παστάδος for 1.789 (above nr. [V])—a reading known only from the indirect tradition (*EM*) and offered by no manuscript—,[34] it also offers with προπόλοιο κατὰ στίβον at 1.781 the correct text as the sole witness against the unanimous testimony of the manuscripts πρὸ πόληος ἀνὰ στίβον. Secondly, P. Oxy. 2698 fr. 1 (2nd cent.) gives for 1.801–803 (above nr. [VI]) a text on the basis of collation with two valuable variants: 1.800 reads at the end]εναυλους with suprascript π, i.e. v.l. ἐπαύλους, already proposed by Pierson (only S has ἐπαύλεις, the other manuscripts have ἐναύλους), and 1.802 has at the end μῆτις with suprascript ν, i.e. v.l. μῆνις, which Fränkel, unlike Vian, admits into his text against the unanimous μῆτις of the manuscripts.

That no traces of the προέκδοσις are to be found in valuable and collated papyri is hardly surprising in view of the fact that proof of a substantially different text of the poem is lacking in other *Argonautica* papyri too.[35] Apart from the just-mentioned passages, the papyri often give a better text than the rest of the manuscript tradition, while many a conjecture has been confirmed by papyrus finds. A selection of instances will illustrate this:

1.219 ἐπὶ κροτάφοισι	P. Oxy. 2700
1.235 ἐπῆρεες	P. Oxy. 2700
1.323 ἰθύοντας	P. Colon. inv. 929 (Brunck)
1.324 ἀμπέχετ'	P. Colon. inv. 929 (Hoelzlin)
2.921 ἔδυ μέλανα	P. Oxy. 2694 (Bywater)
3.745 ναυτίλοι	P. Oxy. 690 (Porson)
3.909 μετὰ	P. Oxy. 691 (Stephanus)
3.944 ἔστ'	P. Oxy. 2693 (Ziegler)
4.436 μετὰ	P. Oxy. 2694
4.438 ᾧ	P. Oxy. 2694 (Brunck and Koechly)
4.462 ἐπιφρασθεὶς	P. Oxy. 2695
4.1129 τ'	P. Oxy. 2691 (Fränkel)

[34] Likewise P. Oxy. 4417 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.) offers the correct ἀπηρέα in 1.556, transmitted solely by the lexicographic tradition, while the manuscripts have a more common word.

[35] Haslam (1978) 63. A list of the Apollonius papyri is to be found at the end of the first part of this article.

different lines.[28] The departures from the προέκδοσις have no bearing on the plan or structure of the poem as a whole; they affect individual passages, lines or words. Mostly, they are stylistic emendations (e.g. III τυπῆσιν—μένει) or elucidations on points of content (e.g. VI θεόθεν).

This first observation to the effect that the difference between the two versions of the *Argonautica* is a matter of style and phrasing rather than of content and structure of the work as a whole is consistent with the testimony of the two biographies which speak of Apollonius polishing up the *Argonautica* in Rhodes. In the first βίος we read: κἀκεῖ αὐτὰ ἐπιξέσαι καὶ ὀρθῶσαι καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ ὑπερευδοκιμῆσαι,[29] likewise in the second: ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν διάγων καὶ ἐπιξέσας αὐτοῦ τὰ ποιήματα, εἶτα ἐπιδειξάμενος σφόδρα εὐδοκίμησεν.[30] There is no mention of fundamental change or modification.

To this a second observation may be added: the exact phrasing of the variants could hardly have survived a mere reading of the text, and already the term προέκδοσις points to a "buchmäßige Veröffentlichung".[31] We may assume that Apollonius published in Alexandria a text of the *Argonautica*—not, perhaps, the entire work but the first two books or, possibly, that part of them for which the προέκδοσις variants are cited. We may further assume that there was a "selbst geschaffene Ausgabe" by Apollonius,[32] against whose background the term προέκδοσις would make full sense. Even if these conclusions seem to be obvious, they still cannot be proved; at any rate they are preferable to mere guesswork.

What light, then, do the Apollonius papyri cast on the history of the text? Are they of any help in clarifying the status of the προέκδοσις? In fact there are two papyri whose text coincides with passages for which the *scholia* give a προέκδοσις variant.[33] However, there is no

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[28] It is speculative to see in the additional line after 2.1116, preserved in some of the manuscripts, a version of the προέκδοσις; it is equally questionable whether the reason for the dislocation in the problematic passage 4.538–47 was some verses of the προέκδοσις which found their way into the text; cf. Haslam (1978) 63 f.

[29] Wendel (1935) 1.13 f.

[30] Wendel (1935) 2.9 f.

[31] Herter (1956) 231.

[32] Erbse (1966) 160 against Fränkel (1961) V f. and (1964) 7–11.

[33] Two further papyri (P. Oxy. 4416 and 4417) offer a text which permits no clear conclusions in 1.285 (if this is the line concerned) or in 1.543; in either case it is hard to say whether it is the text of the προέκδοσις or that of the *vulgata* which is offered by the papyri.

The variant ἀντεταγών in P. Oxy. 2697 col. I *ad* 2.119, already suggested by Sanctamandus,[36] may be added here.

We should not fail to note that in a number of passages which have been suspected by Fränkel and for which he suggested alterations, the text of the papyri is the same as that of the manuscripts.[37] There is only a couple of passages where Fränkel is able to appeal to doubts expressed by other scholars about the manuscripts and the papyrus reading (1.470 Spitzner [P. Oxy. 2695], 2.935 Lloyd-Jones [P. Oxy. 2694])—doubts which Vian rejects. Certainly wrong is P. Colon. inv. 929, where a proper name in 1.325 has been interpolated.

The evidence of the papyrus variants cautions against Fränkel's numerous interventions, verse transpositions and assumptions of *lacunae*.[38] Indeed, in the majority of cases where Fränkel suggests transposition or suspects a *lacuna* the papyri present the same verse order as the manuscripts.[39] Thus the omission of 3.379 in P. Oxy. 690 conforms to the whole of the manuscript tradition. The papyrus evidence is ambiguous in yet another case: 4.348A, offered by all manuscripts, was convincingly deleted by Ruhnken. At first glance the early P. Oxy. 2691 fr. 1 (1st cent. B.C.) appears to support the deletion, since the beginning 2]τεμι[of the line preceding 349 fits with 348 εἴ]τε μι[ν. However, R. Coles's thorough examination showed[40] that we may read 2]τεμε[as well; and this fits well 348A εἴ]τε με[τ'.

The value of the papyrus tradition has been pointed out as a reminder that we ought to treat Fränkel's alterations with caution. In the matter of textual history it is important to bear in mind that there are no traces of a προέκδοσις in the papyri; the assumption of author's variants is thus invalidated.[41]

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[36] One may add 3.263, where Brunck's ἐφημοσύνῃσιν ἕλεσθε is confirmed by P. Oxy. 874, if Grenfell and Hunt are right in reading ελεσ[θε; Zuntz, however, reads ενεσ[θε (cf. Haslam [1978] 58 n. 29). Cf. also Fränkel (1964) 134–6 on 1.548 γένος (instead of μένος), offered by P. Oxy. 4417.

[37] Cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 2695 (1.465, 474); P. Oxy. 2697 (2.142, 149 ff.); P. Oxy. 2699 (3.28); 2694 fr. 4 (4.433, 440, 452).

[38] Erbse (1963a) 25–7 and (1963b) 229 f. argues convincingly against Fränkel's interventions.

[39] Haslam (1978) 67 n. 47 gives a selection of such instances: 1.322 f. (PSI 1478); 2.102 f. (P. Oxy. 1179); 3.739 f. (P. Oxy. 690 [see below]); 3.1054 f. (P. Oxy. 1243); 3.1265 f. (P. Mil. 121).

[40] In Haslam (1978) 66 n. 46.

[41] Haslam (1978) 65: "There is certainly no justification for an old habit which is coming back into vogue, that of projecting even single-word alternatives back on to Apollonius himself. We have no reason for thinking that Apollonius made such

Finally, the complexity of the papyrus tradition may be illustrated by means of a case chosen by Haslam not only on account of the fair amount of the text preserved but also because it is typical of the problems posed by the *Argonautica* papyri.[42] P. Oxy. 2700 contains *Argonautica* 1.202–43 with more than a dozen variants. In two places the papyrus is alone in offering a better text than the rest of the tradition (219, 235); and there is a good possibility that in two further places (239, 242) its text is better than that given by the rest of the tradition. Otherwise, the papyrus has a number of errors typical of any manuscript tradition. In two places the papyrus is in agreement with the reading of the so-called SG class (214, 225).

207 Φωκείων: the manuscripts have Φωκείων, but Φωκήων is v.l. in *Il.* 2.517 (perhaps Aristarchus' reading).
214 ἀνερέψατο: LAPE ἀνερείψατο, S(G) ἀνε(θ)ρέψατο. Kingston and Vian prefer ἀνερέψατο, Fränkel ἀνερείψατο, which, according to Kingston ([1968] 79), arose under the influence of the Homeric ἀνηρείψαντο (e.g. *Od.* 14.371).
215 Εἰλεισοῦ: Ἰλησσοῦ codd., only J has the correct Εἰλισσοῦ; itacism.
218 Λύγκαιος: λυγαίοις codd., Λυγκαίοις Livrea; if not genuine (and correct), then it may be a contamination deriving from Λυγκεύς (1.151, 153) and Ἀγκαῖος (1.164, 188).
219 ἐπὶ κροτάφοισι: ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισι codd., ἐπ' ἀστραγάλοισι Fränkel; see above.
220 ἀειρομένας (*leg.* Haslam): ἀειρομένω codd.; attracted by ἐρεμνάς 219 and πτερύγας.
220 πτερύγας *hoc accentu*: according to the accentuation of Herodian.
223 *omisit pap.*: preserved in the manuscripts; omission due to *homoioarchon* 223 KPA and 224 KYA.
225 ἑοῖο: ἑοῖο SG, ἑῆος LAPE, epic genitive of either ἑός or ἐύς, cf. Kingston (1968) 79.
228 τόσσαι: τόσσοι codd., a meaningless feminine in the catalogue of the Argonauts, probably arising because of the following ἄρ' Αἰσονίδῃ.
228 συνμησ[: συμμήστορες codd.; either a case of dissimilation or σύν has been wrongly connected with the immediately preceding Αἰσονίδῃ.
235 ἐπήρεες: ἐπαρτέα PE, ἐπαρτέες LASG; see above.
239 ?σπερχομένου]ς: ἐπερχομένων codd., σπερχομένων Meineke; the ending attracted by the preceding λαῶν (Vian prefers σπερχομένους, [²1976] 250).
239 θέεν: θέον PE, θέεν LASG; the only certain corruption in the papyrus, which like 214 ἀνε(θ)ρέψατο S(G) and 225 ἑοῖο SG points to the SG branch of the tradition.

small-scale changes; and such variants as we encounter in the vulgate are all explicable as having arisen in the course of post-Apollonian transmission."

[42] Haslam (1978) 49–54.

242 τοῖον: τόσσον codd., attracted by suprascript ἀΐσσοντας 241 (Haslam [1978] 53 argues for the papyrus variant).

This is a mere outline of the problems regarding the *Argonautica* papyri. A critical evaluation of the material, as, for instance, Kingston (1960, 1968), Henrichs (1967, 1970) and Haslam (1978) have given for individual papyri, is still missing.

APPENDIX

1.85–105	P. Oxy. 4413 (3rd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.133–204	P. Oxy. 4414 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.149–55	P. Mil. inv. 71.83 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.169–74	P. Oxy. 2700 (3rd cent. A.D.)
1.198–208	P. Oxy. 4415 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.202–43	P. Oxy. 2700 (3rd cent. A.D.)
1.240–58	P. Oxy. 4415 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.285 f.?	P. Oxy. 4416 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.302–06	P. Oxy. 4416 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.309–21	P. Oxy. 4416 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.317–31	P. Colon. inv. 929 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.328–32	P. Oxy. 4416 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.332–405	PSI 1478 (1st cent. B.C./A.D.)
1.366–82	P. Berol. 11690 (3rd cent. A.D.)
1.409–22	P. Berol. 11690 (3rd cent. A.D.)
1.410–42	PSI 1478 (1st cent. B.C./A.D.)
1.460–79	P. Oxy. 2695 (2nd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.543–58	P. Oxy. 4417 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.583–5	PSI 1479 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.623–33	P. Oxy. 4418 (3rd cent. A.D.)
1.699–719	P. Mil. 6 + P. Colon. inv. 522 (1st cent. A.D.), with marginal *scholia* and interlinear glosses
1.740–50	P. Oxy. 4419 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.754–8	P. Oxy. 4420 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.775–94	P. Amherst 16 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.794–807	P. Oxy. 2698 (2nd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.835–43	P. Oxy. 4421 (5th cent. A.D.), parchment codex with interlinear glosses and marginalia
1.866–74	P. Oxy. 4421 (5th cent. A.D.), parchment codex
1.919–37	P. Oxy. 2698 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.938 f.	P. Oxy. 4414 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.972–81	P. Oxy. 4422 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
1.974–1009	P. Oxy. 4414 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.1049–65	P. Oxy. 2696 (2nd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
1.1089–94	P. Oxy. 4422 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)

1.1102 f.?	P. Oxy. 2696 (2nd cent. A.D.)
1.1195–1209	PSI 1172 (1st cent. A.D.)
1.1212–21	PSI 1172 (1st cent. A.D.)
1.1261–74	P. Oxy. 2692 (1st cent. A.D.)

With regard to P. Oxy. 2700, Kingston (1968) 77 notes the strong similarity to PSI 1479: "I should say that 2700 and PSI 1479 are probably to be attributed to the same copyist (a definite statement to this effect is precluded by the small extent of PSI 1479) and may well have belonged to the same roll". According to U. Wartenberg (P. Oxy. vol. lxiv, London 1997, 96), P. Oxy. 4419 and P. Oxy. 2698 "are probably written by the same scribe".

2.101–10	P. Oxy. 1179 (3rd cent. A.D.)
2.119, 121, 125 marg.	P. Oxy. 2697 (3rd cent. A.D.)
2.136–57	P. Oxy. 2697 (3rd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
2.350 f.	P. Ryl. 518 (2nd cent. A.D.)
2.727–34	Perg. Graec. Vindob. 29785 (6th cent. A.D.)
2.754–61	Perg. Graec. Vindob. 29785 (6th cent. A.D.)
2.917–53	P. Oxy. 2694 (2nd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses
2.929–36	P. Oxy. 2702 (5th cent. A.D.)
2.969–72	P. Oxy. 2702 (5th cent. A.D.)
2.1008–10	P. Oxy. 2702 (5th cent. A.D.), with marginalia
2.1075(?), 1099, 1103, 1127 *sch.*	P. Berol. 13413 (1st/2nd cent. A.D.)

Gronewald (1991) 2 f. has identified the minimal fragment P. Ryl. 518 as 2.350 f.

3.1–35	P. Oxy. 2699 (3rd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses?
3.145–61	P. Argentorat. 173 (8th/9th cent. A.D.), parchment codex
3.173–91	P. Argentorat. 173 (8th/9th cent. A.D.), parchment codex
3.263–71	P. Oxy. 874 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.)
3.727–45	P. Oxy. 690 (3rd cent. A.D.)
3.908–13	P. Oxy. 691 (2nd cent. A.D.)
3.940–58	P. Oxy. 2693 (1st/2nd cent. A.D.), with interlinear glosses and marginal *scholia*
3.962–71	P. Oxy. 2693 (1st/2nd cent. A.D.)
3.1055–63	P. Oxy. 1243 (2nd cent. A.D.)
3.1211–26	P. Berol. 17020 (7th/8th cent. A.D.)
3.1245–60	P. Berol. 17020 (7th/8th cent. A.D.)
3.1291–1302	P. Mil. 121 (4th cent. A.D.)

3.1358–64	P. Berol. 13248 (5th cent. A.D.)
3.1398–1406	P. Berol. 13248 (5th cent. A.D.)

Referring to P. Oxy. 2694, Kingston (1968) 50 notes that there are still unedited parts from *Argonautica* book 4 in the collection: "A study of them will appear in a later volume".

4.77–90	P. Oxy. 692 (2nd cent. A.D.)
4.317–22	P. Oxy. 2694 (2nd cent. A.D.)
4.348–56	P. Oxy. 2691 (1st cent. B.C.)
4.416–61	P. Oxy. 2694 (2nd cent. A.D.), with marginalia
4.468–512	P. Oxy. 2694 (2nd cent. A.D.), with marginalia
4.519, 553 *sch.*	P. Oxy. 2694 verso (2nd cent. A.D.)
4.607–14	P. Berol. 17011 (4th/5th cent. A.D.)
4.675–96	P. Columb. inv. 437 (3rd cent. A.D.)
4.724–44	P. Columb. inv. 437 (3rd cent. A.D.)
4.1128–35	P. Oxy. 2691 (1st cent. B.C.)
4.1175–80	P. Oxy. 2701 (3rd cent. A.D.)
4.1187–97	P. Oxy. 2701 (3rd cent. A.D.).

Bibliography on the papyri in Vian (1974a) LXXXVIII–XC, to be supplemented by the "Nachtrag" of Henrichs to P. Mil. 6 + P. Colon. inv. 522 in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 76 f., and in Vian (1980) IX–XI with reference to Haslam (1978); list of *Argonautica* papyri in Del Corno (1973) 543 and F. Webel, *APF* 21 (1971) 173. Pack Nr. 2144 is a papyrus where Apollonius is cited or mentioned (BKT 3.27–9, inv. 8439).

2. *The Medieval Tradition*

Those studying the history of the text of the 5835 lines of the *Argonautica* can count on a number of excellent works. Pride of place among them takes Fränkel's classification of the manuscripts dating from 1929,[43] repeated with small modifications in the introduction to his provocative Oxford edition of 1961 and in the famous *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios* which appeared in 1964. Some further aspects of the manuscript tradition were subsequently clarified by Speake[44] and especially by Vian; the latter

[43] Fränkel (1929).
[44] See esp. Speake (1972). Others are mentioned *suo loco*.

produced between 1974 and 1981 an edition of the poem which is distinguished for the thoroughness of its textual and exegetical work.[45] The following is but a short and necessarily incomplete sketch of the manuscript tradition of Apollonius. Starting from the conclusions reached by Fränkel and Vian, it also takes account of the progress made by paleography and codicology over the last decades. My modest aim is not, and cannot be, to re-write the textual history of Apollonius but rather to clarify what, in my opinion, is entailed in writing a history of the text.

Apollonius' text had a very wide circulation already in late antiquity and during the first centuries of the Byzantine era. This is documented by numerous papyrus finds (see Appendix) ranging from the 1st cent. B.C. to the 5th cent. A.D., by two parchment fragments of the 6th (Alexandrian majuscule) and 8th–9th cent. respectively, and also by ancient commentaries which formed the basis of the medieval *scholia*. There is also an indirect tradition, in particular a lexicographical one, as well as various imitations of the poem.

The medieval tradition of Apollonius contains 55 manuscripts dating from the period between the 10th and 16th cent. Fränkel used fifty one of them,[46] Vian added the fragment of the Archivio di Stato of Modena, while the ms. 325 of the Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Πατριαρχείου in Alexandria was later made known and collated.[47] To these two further manuscripts must be added which, to the best of my knowledge, have not as yet been collated: a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples (II.A.23; the Apollonian part, dating from the third quarter of the 16th cent., contains 2.1–4.492)[48] and another from the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Gr. class. d. 148, late 15th cent.: the hand resembles that of Petros Hypsilas).

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[45] Vian (1974a, 1980, 1981). In XL–LXXII of (1974a) (complemented by IX–XI of [1980]) there is a brief and clear treatment of the text's history.

[46] He also mentions another one, which remained inaccessible to him: it is a codex preserved at least until the beginning of the century in the library of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Park (cf. Schenkl [1905] 76). It does not seem to be Gr. class. d. 148 in Oxford, mentioned below.

[47] Cf. McLennan (1975) (a brief description in the catalogue of Moschonas [1945] 281); according to McLennan, the manuscript shows influence of *m* and *w*, but also of readings attested only in the early printed editions. The manuscript can be dated to the second half of the 16th cent. It should also be noted that on ff. 119–54v of cod. 214 (a. 1575) of the same library there are *scholia* on the first book (cf. Moschonas [1945] 201–2). I am grateful to my friend Agamemnon Tselikas for sending me a microfilm of both manuscripts.

[48] Cf. Mioni (1992) 67–8.

From the archetype derive three families according to Fränkel, two according to Vian. We shall begin our brief examination with the first, the so-called 'm-Klasse' (*m* in Vian).

The oldest manuscript of Apollonius, the Laurentianus 32.9 (L), contains also the seven tragedies of Sophocles and Aeschylus; it can be dated to the middle of the 10th cent. and was written by at least three scribes in a hand similar to the so-called "minuscule penchée", in which other important witnesses of the manuscript tradition of ancient authors were written (e.g. Marc. gr. 454 of Homer, Ravenna 429 of Aristophanes and Paris. gr. 1741 of Aristotle) in roughly the same period, probably in Constantinople. The text of Apollonius (ff. 190–264) was copied from a source without *scholia*; but a reviser using various sources has added variants and *scholia* drawn from another copy. Thus the *lemmata* of the *scholia* occasionally preserve readings different from those in the text.[49] About half a century later, again, it seems, in Constantinople, a copy of it was made, today in Modena, Archivio di Stato I 5—two leaves which contain only *Arg.* 1.138–201 and 345–389. This is not a case of mutilation since the verso of the second leaf was originally blank. Probably the copy was never finished.[50] Another transcript is Vat. Pal. gr. 186 (V), normally dated until some time ago to the 11th cent. It was only recently that Jean Irigoin was able to show on the basis of historical and codicological data that we are really dealing with an imitation of its source carried out in Italy, almost certainly in Florence, after the Laurentianus came into the possession of the Florentine humanist Niccolò Niccoli (1424), who bought it from Giovanni Aurispa (Constantinople 1421–1423), and before the death of Giannozzo Manetti (1459), its subsequent owner.[51] Manetti was not only a friend of Niccoli's, whose biography he wrote; he was also among the executors of the will in which Niccoli, in 1437, named those who were to take care of his library. After some adventures, the Laurentianus, along with part of Niccoli's library, in 1444 ended up in the Domenican convent of San Marco in Florence, and, as we shall see, was used again, directly or indirectly, towards the end of the 15th cent.

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49 Besides Fränkel and Vian, cf. Alberti (1972) 9–16.
50 Studied first by Alberti (1963) 15–23 and pl. I–II.
51 Irigoin (1981).

The other independent witness of the *m* class is Ambr. B 98 sup. (A). The copyist can be identified as Georgios Chrysokokkes[52] (he dates manuscripts between 1419 and 1428), who worked in Constantinople for Giovanni Aurispa, Francesco Filelfo and Cristoforo Garatone among others. The stemmatic independence is also true of the other texts contained in the codex, namely the Orphic *Argonautica*, the Homeric *Hymns* and the *Hymns* of Callimachus. The Ambrosianus in its turn is the fountainhead of a long series of manuscripts. Direct transcripts are Laur. 31.11 and Vat. Pal. gr. 280. The former derives from A only in part, but it reproduces all its textual and codicological features and can be attributed to the hand of Demetrios Damilas.[53] If it is true that part of its text comes from the *editio princeps* of 1496, it is likely that it was copied around that date or shortly after, probably in Rome, where Damilas was active during these years, visiting regularly the Vatican library. The *terminus ante quem* for the Palatinus, which reproduces its exemplar with great fidelity, is 1472; from it Vat. gr. 1691 derives directly, copied almost in its entirety by a single scribe in Rome for Bessarion, whose hand appears in an addition on f. 155v and to whose library it belonged. The Vaticanus features in the second inventory of books presented by Bessarion to the Republic of Venice, drawn up in 1474. In the same year it was borrowed and returned by the ducal secretary Marco Aurelio, pupil of Guarino and in contact with Bessarion himself. In all likelihood, it was the same Marco Aurelio who arranged for the arrival at Venice of the cardinal's last books, which, after the latter's death, were deposited at Urbino. Between 1474 and 1524, the date at which the third inventory of Bessarion's library was drawn up, owing to careless preservation of Bessarion's books in Venice until the early decades of the 16th cent, the Vaticanus disappeared along with other manuscripts.[54] According to Fränkel, it is from Vat. gr. 1691, probably through a lost manuscript, that Bodl. Auct. T. 3.10 and Marc. gr. 480 derive. However, as Vian has shown for Apollonius, Pfeiffer for Callimachus[55] and Vogt for the Proclus *Hymns*,[56]

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[52] Cf. Breuning (1930) 33 n. 5 and 119–23, and Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, LVI–LVII; cf. also the observations of Irigoin (1994) 151–2.

[53] Identified by Dieter Harlfinger *apud* Canart (1977–79) 330.

[54] Cf. Labowsky (1979) 53–4, 55–6, 490.

[55] Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, LXX–LXXII.

[56] Vogt (1957) 15–17.

Vat. gr. 1691, Auct. T. 3.10 and Marc. gr. 480 are *gemelli*. The last two were copied by the same scribe, the Cretan Georgios Tribizias,[57] Marc. gr. 480 for Bessarion, who in the usual ownership entry styles himself *episcopus Sabinensis*, thus giving a date between 1468 and 1472. From the Marcianus, Vat. gr. 36 (Y) and Urb. gr. 146 (U) were transcribed, both again by Tribizias (Vaticanus, ff. 1–225),[58] almost certainly again in Rome. Between 1474 and 1482 the Urbinas manuscript reached the library of Federico, Duke of Montefeltro. Conclusion: The Ambr. A came to Rome directly or indirectly from Constantinople, probably in the sixties of the 15th cent.; there it remained for at least thirty years and was copied twice. Even the last codices to be descended from it are wholly Roman and can be located in the circle of Bessarion, somewhere between 1468 and 1472.[59]

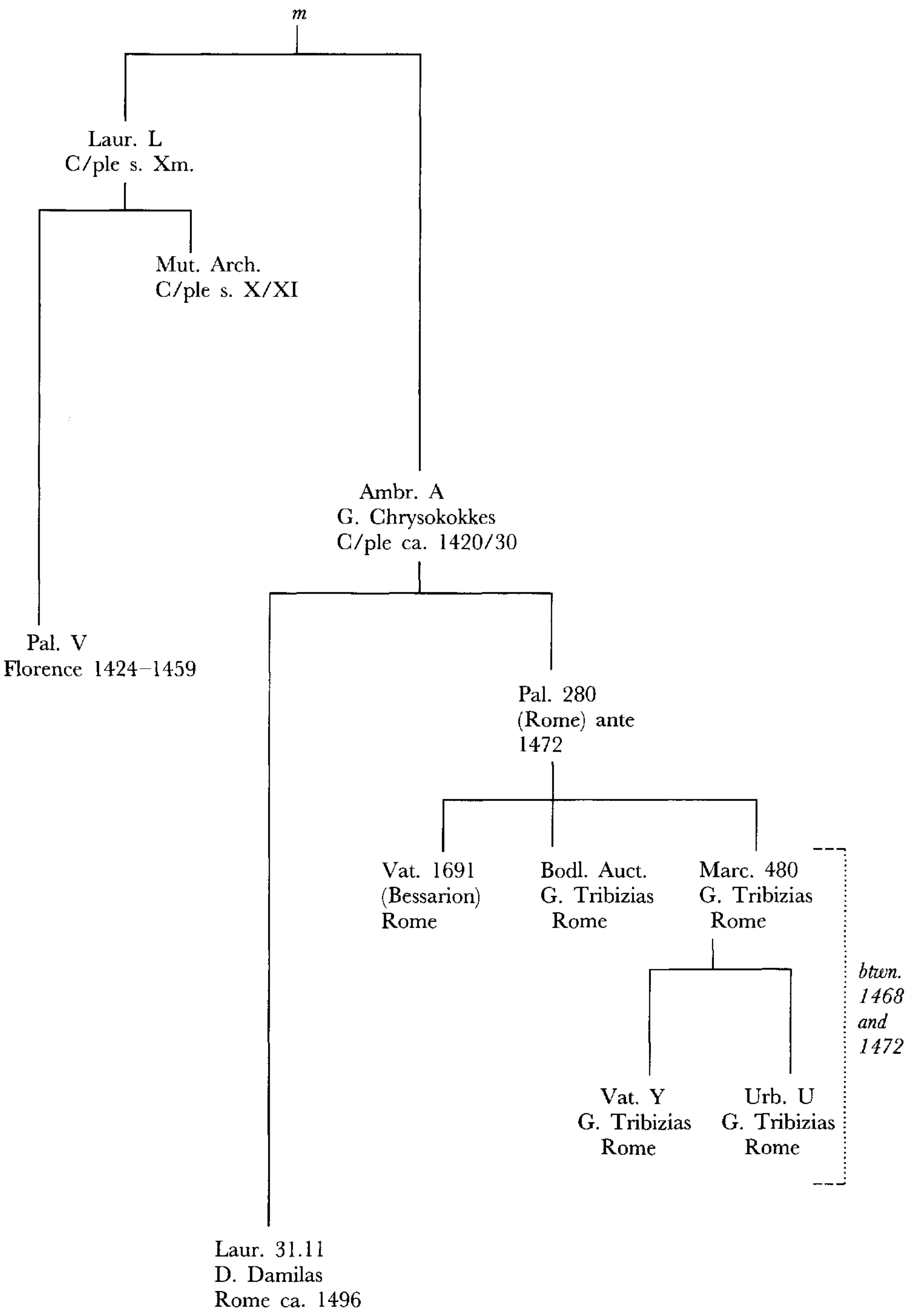
We now come to the second family, the so called "w-Klasse" (Vian's *w*). The hyparchetype *w* is reconstructed from two independent manuscripts, the Laur. 32.16 (S) and Guelferb. 10.2 Aug. 4° (G). The former contains the famous collection of poetic texts (Nonnus, Theocritus, Apollonius, Hesiod, Oppianus, Moschus etc.) put together and partly transcribed by the Byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes in 1280 at Constantinople. The manuscript appears to have remained there until 1423, when Francesco Filelfo bought it from the wife of Ioannes Chrysoloras (cf. f. 8v); in 1427 he brought it to Italy and kept it until his death in 1481. Immediately afterwards it was bought, together with other manuscripts of Filelfo's, by the Medici for their library; it was read and annotated by Poliziano and later by Ianos Laskaris.[60] In 1465 Filelfo lent the manuscript to Konstantinos Laskaris, who in that year transcribed from it Matrit. 4691 (I), in Milan. The other independent descendant of *w* is Guelferb. 10.2 Aug. 4°, written by Petros Kretikos, probably in the third decade of the 15th cent. in Mantua, in the school of Vittorino da Feltre (Mantua is mentioned also in a note of the Marquis Gianlucido Gonzaga, †1448, on the inside of the upper cover of the manuscript); in 1422 the

[57] For the first manuscript he was identified by Lobel (1933) 51 (cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger [1981] no. 73), in the case of the latter by Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, LXXI (cf. Harlfinger [1974] 29 and pl. 60).

[58] Cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger – Eleuteri (1997) no. 123.

[59] On these manuscripts cf. also Irigoin (1994) 153–4.

[60] For Filelfo's library I refer to Eleuteri (1991) 163–79 (the codex on 170); cf. also the manuscripts list in Fryde (1996) 819–21.


m
Laur. L
C/ple s. Xm.
Mut. Arch.
C/ple s. X/XI
Ambr. A
G. Chrysokokkes
C/ple ca. 1420/30
Pal. V
Florence 1424–1459
Pal. 280
(Rome) ante
1472
Vat. 1691
(Bessarion)
Rome
Bodl. Auct.
G. Tribizias
Rome
Marc. 480
G. Tribizias
Rome
btwn.
1468
and
1472
Vat. Y
G. Tribizias
Rome
Urb. U
G. Tribizias
Rome
Laur. 31.11
D. Damilas
Rome ca. 1496

same Kretikos transcribed for Vittorino a Suda manuscript. The Guelferbitanus was annotated by Francesco Filelfo (between the third and fourth decade of the 15th cent., on the evidence of the hand); in 1456 the manuscript was bought in Rome by Giovanni Aurispa, coming thereafter into the possession of Guarino Veronese (†1460 in Ferrara).[61]

A last independent family ("k-Klasse") was, as noted above, identified by Fränkel; however, Vian proved beyond doubt that this is a subfamily of *m*, equal to L and A.[62] According to Fränkel, the Protocretensis *k* can be reconstructed on the basis of five manuscripts, to which Vian has added several others which can be traced directly or indirectly to *k*. The oldest witness of the group, which in addition to Apollonius must have also contained Aratus and the Orphic *Argonautica* at least,[63] reached Crete probably after the fall of Constantinople and was copied there by Antonios Damilas in Escor. Σ.III.3 (E, ff. 30–175v), to be dated on the basis of the watermarks to the last but one decade of the century. The codex also features the hand of two scribes active in Crete during the same period and often working together, namely Georgios Gregoropoulos (ff. 2–9v) and Aristoboulos Apostoles (ff. 10–29).[64] Within a few years numerous descendants derived from Escor. E, both in Crete and Italy. First in chronological order is probably Mutin. 112 (J), written partly (ff. 1–100) by Georgios Alexandrou[65] between 1485 and 1489, certainly in Crete; the codex, like many other manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, was owned by the Piacenza humanist Giorgio Valla, who from 1486 until his death (1500) taught in Venice. The apographs of the Mutin. J are numerous, first among them being Paris. gr. 2727 (P), again in the hand of Georgios Alexandrou,[66] the second part of the Paris. gr. 2728 (H^2, from *Arg.* 2.1020 to the beginning of book 3), written partly (ff. 1–132v, 134v–46v) by Georgios

[61] Cf. Harlfinger – Harlfinger – Sonderkamp (1978) 56–9 (recently Irigoin [1994] 147–51).
[62] On this second family cf. especially Vian (1972).
[63] Cf. Martin (1956) (with the clarifications contained in the introduction to [1998] vol. I), and Vian (1979).
[64] Identified by Harlfinger in Moraux – Harlfinger – Reinsch – Wiesner [1976] 162; cf. also Bravo García (1983a), and Fernández Pomar (1986) no. 4, 16, 20, 23 (with occasional inaccuracies).
[65] Cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1981) no. 54.
[66] Cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1989) no. 72.

Gregoropoulos (†1501) in Crete not long after 1489,[67] and, last in chronological order, Paris. gr. 2845 (O), written by Konstantinos Mesobotes (he dates manuscripts between 1508 and 1533),[68] certainly after Valla's death, though possibly in Venice, before Valla's books were bought by Alberto Pio of Carpi in the first decade of the 16th cent. Toletanus 102–34 (T), yet another apograph of the Mutin. J, merits special mention. According to Antonio Bravo García[69] it is written partly by the same western (Italian) hand to which Peter Krafft, in his study of the Cornutus manuscript tradition, has attributed the Ambr. N 92 sup. and Matrit. 4808 (ff. 1–166); to these should be added Vat. gr. 1385 (a fact which Krafft, although he used the manuscript, strangely failed to notice),[70] annotated by Pietro Bembo and two other Apollonius manuscripts, Neap. II.F.12 and Magliab., to be mentioned below.[71] The three Cornutus manuscripts and the two of Apollonius bear the same watermark (Briquet 13882), attested between 1490 and 1498.

But let us go back to Escor. E. From it derives also the third part of Paris. gr. 2728 (H^3, between *Arg.* 3.50 and 3.120 to the end)[72] and Brux. 18170–73 (B), written in 1489 in Crete by the scholar Aristoboulos Apostoles; from the latter comes the first part of Paris. gr. 2728 (H^1, up to *Arg.* 2.1020), which reproduces its model down to the *mise en page.* According to Fränkel, Mutin. 140 would also be an apograph of the Bruxellensis. However, since the copyist of the Mutinensis has been identified by Harlfinger as Andronikos Kallistos,[73] and the Bruxellensis, as we have just seen, was copied in Crete in 1489, while Kallistos died in London in 1487 at the latest, Fränkel has got it wrong, and the question should be re-examined in the light of the paleographical data. It is also to be remembered that Andronikos Kallistos was the first humanist to translate Apollonius into Latin. His pupil Bartolomeo Fonzio has preserved part of his

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[67] Cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1989) no. 78.

[68] Cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1989) no. 315.

[69] Bravo García (1983b) 217.

[70] Krafft (1975) 7–11 and pl. II (Ambr.) 87–91 and pl. II (Matrit.) 142–8 and pl. XVI (cf. also the review by P. Canart in *Gnomon* 51 [1979] 386). The script style is somehow similar to that of Raffaele Regio.

[71] I should like to thank Maria Rosa Formentin for sending me a reproduction of the manuscript.

[72] The same relationship may also be observed in the case of Aratus' text (cf. Martin [1956] 231–5, and [1998] CLXXIII-CLXXV).

[73] In Harlfinger (1974) 25 (cf. also Gamillscheg [1978] 232).

translation of book 1, transcribing it at the time Kallistos taught in Florence, between 1471 and 1474.[74] To resume our exposition, from P derive, directly or indirectly, two manuscripts, both written by the printer and scribe Zacharias Kallierges (they can be dated to the last decade of the 15th cent.), the Escor. Σ.III.20,[75] and Ricc. 35, and also the Neap. II.F.12, already mentioned above. These were probably copied in Venice. However, confirmation for the presence of P in this region comes from the fact that Burney 62 (ca. 1500), also an apograph of P, was owned and annotated by the commentator and translator Giovanni Francesco Burana (dead before 1536), mostly active in Verona, Padua and Venice. Likewise, Laur. 31.26, copied by two unknown scribes around 1500 and then completed by Camillo Zanetti, derives mainly from Paris. gr. 2727, while Sinait. gr. 1194 (K) was written in 1491 in Crete by the already mentioned Aristoboulos Apostoles, who used J and B.[76] The copyist of Magliab. II.III.217, as we have already seen, is the same who wrote Toletanus T and Neap. II.F.12 among others: up to ca. *Arg.* 2.600 he used Mutin. 112 and Toletanus; for the rest only the latter. If this is correct, we may assume that the Magliab. was copied in Venice, where the Mutinensis was brought probably by Aristoboulos Apostoles, in whose hands the codex was in 1492, certainly before 1500 (his presence in Venice during these years is frequently attested).[77] By way of concluding this brief examination of the *k* class, we should mention Marc. IX. 22, written (ff. 98–137v and the following mutilated folios) by the scholar and editor Markos Mousouros[78] ca. 1500, probably in Venice or Padua. The text it offers is essentially that of *k*, with good conjectures, though contaminated with readings from Laur. 32.9 and Ambr. B 98 sup.

A brief look now at the so called "D-Gruppe".[79] From Bruxellensis B, but probably also from Sinaiticus K, derive five manuscripts (*d* in Vian), four of which are by the hand of the poet and teacher

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[74] Cf. Resta ([1978] and also [1981]).

[75] Bravo García (1983a) 104–5, and Fernández Pomar (1986) no. 10.

[76] On this manuscript see also Giangrande (1977).

[77] Dieter Harlfinger in Moraux – Harlfinger – Reinsch – Wiesner (1976) 346 identified with some hesitation the copyist of Magliab. with one of the most productive scribes of the 15th cent., Ioannes Thessalos Skoutariotes, who worked in Florence for sponsors such as Giannozzo Manetti and Angelo Poliziano.

[78] The attribution was suggested by Mioni (1971) 12, 26 (Sicherl [1974] 607 suggests Markos Ioannou instead).

[79] Besides Speake (1972), cf. esp. Speake (1969), and Speake – Vian (1973).

Demetrios Moschos,[80] namely Paris. gr. 2729 (D), Vat. gr. 37 (Q), Vat. gr. 1358 (R) and Casanat. 408 (C). They are selective in their adoption of variants and display numerous conjectures as well as a certain degree of contamination; it is, therefore, impossible to trace the precise relations among them. On the basis of textual and codicological features, particularly the watermarks which are often identical, a date in the last decade of the 15th cent. (certainly after 1491) is all but certain. As for the place of production, if we bear in mind what has been noted above with regard to B and K and the few biographical data we have for Moschos, only Venice fits the pattern.

The fifth manuscript belonging to *d* is Ambr. H 22 sup. (M, only books 1 and 2), written between the third and fourth decade of the 16th cent. by the scribe and editor Nikolaos Sophianos, who was working for people like Marcello Cervini and Niccolò Ridolfi. To the third family, and not to the "D-Gruppe", as Fränkel thought, belong Laur. 91. 8 (F, up to *Arg.* 3.117) and Ambr. L 37 sup. (N), written by Michael Souliardos. Here, however, the process of contamination is rather advanced. The two manuscripts are contaminated with Laur. 32.9 in particular, and are very close to Mutin. 140 and Paris. gr. 2846. In Paris. gr. 2846 contamination is quite evident too: the codex is akin to *k*, but it also takes account of L and S. Against the historical background we have established, it is likely that the place of production is Florence in the last decade of the 15th cent.

Let us examine in conclusion a few manuscripts whose place in the stemma is uncertain and which are still in need of further and more precise investigation. Rehd. 35 (W), written in Padua in 1488 by Nicola Passera della Porta, uses mainly *m*, but knows also S and a manuscript of the so-called third family. Related to it is Laur. 32.45, written in a western (Italian) hand and datable to the 8th–9th decade of the 15th cent. Angelo Poliziano read and used it in 1489 in his *Miscellanea*, and in 1494 it featured in the inventory of the Medici library.[81] Paris. gr. 2844, whose ff. 140v–78 were subscribed in Florence in 1498 by the grammar teacher of the "Studio fiorentino" Lorenzo Ciati,[82] is partly an apograph of the Rehd., partly of the

[80] Cf. Speake (1974) 113–33.

[81] Cf. Fryde (1996) 781 (with bibliography). But his statement (538) that Poliziano wrote in the margin of the manuscript some notabilia, with the siglum *Ang.*, is wrong; as a matter of fact, in the cases mentioned (e.g. ff. 3 and 19) one reads ἄλλ(ως).

[82] Cf. Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1989) no. 323.

editio princeps of 1496, made by Ianos Laskaris and printed in Florence, almost certainly by Lorenzo de Alopa (text in majuscule, *scholia* in minuscule). Akin with these manuscripts are a series of witnesses which can be dated between the last decade of the 15th and the first of the 16th cent. These are Neap. II.F.13, probably by Ioannes Thessalos Skoutariotes;[83] Barb. gr. 142 and 143, written by the same hand ca. 1500 and coming from the library of the Acciaioli family in Florence; Vindob. Phil. gr. 104, dating from the end of the 15th cent. ("Chalkondyles-Schrift"); Parmens. 355, written by the Byzantine scholar Demetrios Chalkondyles;[84] and Escor. R.I.16, written by Petros Hypsilas,[85] who was a collaborator of Demetrios Chalkondyles. There remain Bodl. Gr. class. e. 18, to be dated in its various parts to the first–second decade of the 16th cent.; its ff. 198–254v and perhaps also 1–7v and 60–1v may be attributed to Nikolaos Petreios of Kerkyra (Corfu);[86] and Hamburg. 16 in scrin. (containing books 3–4), owned and written in the middle of the 16th cent. by a certain Markos Phlanges, the same person who owned a number of manuscripts now in Vienna (Hist. gr. 64, Phil. gr. 99, Theol. gr. 59, 119, 120, 159).[87] The former is almost certainly an apograph of the *editio princeps* of 1496, the latter of the Aldina of 1521. Finally, there are Ambr. P 64 sup. (16th cent., *Arg.* 1.1–3.1306) and Vat. Pal. gr. 150 (16th cent., books 1–3), both apographs of the edition of 1496.

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[83] I am indebted to Maria Rosa Formentin for sending me a reproduction of the manuscript.

[84] Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1981) no. 105.

[85] Cf. Bravo García (1983a) 110–11.

[86] Gamillscheg – Harlfinger (1981) no. 314 *ter*. My thanks to Annaclara Cataldi Palau for examining the manuscript for me.

[87] I am grateful to Marina Molin Pradel for having allowed me to use her unpublished description of the Hamburg manuscript.

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MYTH AND HISTORY IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF APOLLONIUS

Mary R. Lefkowitz

1. *Introduction*

Ever since Boswell wrote his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, biographers (and their readers) have sought to situate each writer in his proper context, in the hope of being able to discover the relation between his art and his life. But very few, if any, biographers of Greek poets offer us the kind of detailed historical information that we would like to have. The biographies attached to Byzantine manuscripts appear to be based on a misunderstanding and misreading of the poets' works and comic writing about them. They had very little else to go on, because the poets' contemporaries were not interested in recording the kind of information that later biographers would have liked to have. Apparently, no ancient writer's contemporaries were interested in keeping day-by-day records of an individual poet's thoughts and actions. Instead, a contemporary would relate an illustrative anecdote. Ion of Chios tells how when Sophocles was serving as general in the Samian war of 440 B.C. he stole a kiss from a young slave boy. The story is meant to illustrate that, although Pericles thought he was a poet, but didn't know how to be a general, Sophocles showed that in love at least he was a clever strategist: "he could speak and act cleverly when he was drinking or lucky. But he was not particularly astute or effective in civic affairs, but just like any other upper-class Athenian" (392 *FGrHist* F 6/Ion fr. 8 von Blumenthal/Ath. 13.104D). The comic poet Aristophanes makes the poets Agathon and Euripides act and talk like the characters in their dramas (*Thesm.* 149; *Ran.* 888–94). Euripides' biographer Satyrus, describing how Euripides wrote and thought in solitude, quotes Aristophanes: "the man is like the speeches that he writes" (Aristophanes fr. 694 *PCG*/Satyrus, P. Oxy. 1176 fr. 39 ix/T 4.12 Kovacs). What Euripides himself actually said and did in his lifetime was not recorded. As Aristotle said, "poetry is more philosophical and serious than history, for poetry is concerned with the universal,

and history with individual happenings" (*Poet.* 9. 1451b). History is not so intelligible as myth.[1]

In the Hellenistic age, as I shall try to argue in this paper, the writing of literary biography was not more scientific (in our sense of the word) than it was in the fifth and fourth centuries. Aristotle's successors in the Peripatos, like Satyrus, wrote about poets. But, as Momigliano observed, these were not biographies in our sense, but "historical interpretations of selected passages from one classical author".[2] In order to make philosophy comprehensible, they sought to illustrate concepts by particular anecdotes.[3] The biography of Apollonius of Rhodes is no exception to this general rule. Most of the most reliable information we have about ancient poets comes from those poets who tell us about themselves, like Hesiod or Archilochus. But the subject of this paper, Apollonius of Rhodes, tells us nothing about himself. Everything we know about him comes from other sources, the two brief lives that are attached to the *scholia* to the *Voyage of the Argo*, an entry in the Suda, and a reference to him in a list that is preserved on a corrupt and damaged papyrus (P. Oxy. 1241/Callimachus T 13 Pf.).[4] In an article about Apollonius that is included in my book *The Lives of the Greek Poets* I maintain that much of what these sources tell us is likely to be fictional. I suggest that Apollonius probably never went into exile in Rhodes, that he did not quarrel with Callimachus, and that he was called a Rhodian because he came from Rhodes.[5] Some scholars were not persuaded by my arguments, but in general my findings have been supported by Rengakos, who has carefully reviewed all the evidence.[6] But in *Callimachus and his Critics* Cameron has argued that although the biographies of the classical poets and the Byzantine lives in particular contain much that is "worthless", he believes that the sources of the biographies of Hellenistic poets are more reliable than those used by the biographers of earlier poets, and seeks to show that there is no reason to discount the notion of a literary quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius.[7] In this paper I shall try to show that

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[1] Lucas (1986) 119.
[2] Momigliano (1971) 69–70.
[3] Dihle (1956) 59.
[4] Vian ([2]1976) vii.
[5] Lefkowitz (1980) 1–19; Lefkowitz (1981) 117–35.
[6] Rengakos (1992a) 39–67.
[7] Cameron (1995) 219.

Cameron's arguments are in fact not at all decisive, and that the biographers of Hellenistic poets continued to rely on the same methods and sources as their predecessors. But first I would like briefly to describe some of the techniques employed by ancient biographers in constructing the biographies of earlier poets.

2. *Biographies of Earlier Poets*

We know that Hesiod lived in Ascra, quarreled with his brother about their inheritance, and won a prize in Chalcis for his performance at the funeral games of Amphidamas, because we have his own direct testimony in the *Works and Days*. But other information about him is fanciful and almost certainly fictional, even though it apparently derives from the same source, the *Works and Days*. Hesiod's biographers were determined to know more than the poet himself chose to reveal, they created new "facts", and provided a narrative structure for the poet's life out of material that is not biographical in nature.[8] Hesiod does not tell us his father's name, but the fourth-century historian Ephorus claims that it was Dios (70 *FGrHist* F 2/ Ps.-Plu. *Vit. Hom.* 12). How was he able to know centuries after Hesiod's death what Hesiod did not tell us? In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod refers to his brother Perses as δῖον γένος (*Op.* 299).[9] Thucydides knows a sensational story about Hesiod's death (3.95–96.1), which was later retold by Aristotle (fr. 75 Rose) and the sophist Alcidamas in the fourth century (*Certamen* 14); it was also the subject of a poem by the third-century B.C. poet Eratosthenes (fr. 17 Powell/*Cert.* 17). According to Alcidamas, Hesiod was falsely accused of raping a young woman and was murdered by her brothers; but when his body was thrown out at sea and was brought back to land by dolphins, the accusation was shown to have been false. This story appears to be an illustration of a general statement about the justice of Zeus in the *Works and Days*, which Hesiod states in personal terms: "I would not wish to be righteous (δίκαιος) among men, nor would my son, since it is bad to be a righteous man if the more unjust man will have the greater justice; but I do not expect that wise Zeus will ever bring this to pass" (*Op.* 270–4).

8 Lefkowitz (1981) 4.
9 Lefkowitz (1981) 6.

The story of Hesiod's death illustrates another tendency in biographical writing. Biographers had a flair for the dramatic, for conflicts and spectacular deaths. Euripides was said to have been hated by the Athenians, and while in exile in Macedonia was torn to pieces by dogs. The notion of dishonor or trouble in one's own country also has its origins in heroic myth, and occurs in biographies of Homer and Aeschylus. The story of Euripides' death was clearly inspired by the account of the death of Pentheus in his drama *The Bacchae.*[10] Other stories about Euripides were based on comedies in which his poems were discussed or he appeared as a character. Comedy was undoubtedly the source of the "fact" that Euripides' mother Cleito was a vegetable seller.

The writers who invented these anecdotes appear to have taken some pleasure in their creation; no doubt some of the wittier and more fanciful assertions were meant to be entertaining. The fourth-century Atthidographer Philochorus was prepared to suggest that Euripides sometimes alluded to contemporary historical events in his dramas: for example, he claimed that Euripides was referring to the sinking of Protagoras' ship in his drama *Ixion* (328 *FGrHist* F 221/D.L. 9.55/T 16 Kovacs). But Philochorus did not believe *everything* that had been said about Euripides. He pointed out that Euripides' mother could not have been a vegetable seller, as had been claimed by the comic poets, because both of Euripides' parents were well-born (328 *FGrHist* F 218/Suda E 3695/T 2.2 Kovacs). He also observed that Euripides could not (as had been claimed) have been referring to the death of Socrates in the *Palamedes* (fr. 588 N.) because he died before Socrates was executed (328 *FGrHist* F 221/D.L. 2.44/T 33 Kovacs). We can also get a sense of the give-and-take of discussions about literary biography from some of the surviving fragments of a dialogue about Euripides' life by the third-century writer Satyrus. Each of the three speakers in the dialogue draws on Euripides' writings in order to throw light on his character and his thought, and they each support their assertions by citing remarks about Euripides made by the comic poets. But at one point one of the respondents, Diodora, professes that she is not persuaded by the other speaker's claims that a passage in a choral song (fr. 911 N.) refers to Euripides' decision to go to Macedonia. "What do you mean?" Diodora asks;

[10] Lefkowitz (1981) 95–7.

"what you say seems more ingenious than true" (κομψό[τ]ε[ρ]α φαίνε[ι μοι] λέγειν ἤπε[ρ] ἀληθινώτερα, fr. 39 xviii/T 4.20 Kovacs).[11]

That assertions could be questioned suggests that biographers knew that other biographers had drawn on the poets' own works and on comedies about them. What other source materials did they have at their disposal? When such corrections and modifications were suggested, they were almost always made on the basis of common sense. For example, Philochorus knew that Euripides died before Socrates was executed, so how could he have known about Socrates' death? Why should Satyrus' character Diodora believe that a choral song about flying into the sky with golden wings and the Sirens' sandals refers specifically to Euripides' exile in Macedonia? There is no reason to imagine that Philochorus or Satyrus had done research in special archives or were relying on letters or memoirs when they suggested that it was not necessary to believe every assertion that could be made about him.

3. *Biographies of Apollonius*

What were biographers able to make of the life of Apollonius? *Vita* A, the longer of the two biographies of Apollonius appended to the manuscripts of the *Voyage of the Argo*, offers the following account of his life:

> Apollonius the author of the *Voyage of the Argo* was by birth an Alexandrian, of the Ptolemaic tribe, the son of Silleus, or as some say, Hilleus. He lived during the reign of Ptolemy [sic], [and was] a pupil of Callimachus. At first he kept company with Callimachus, his own teacher, and after a long time turned to writing poetry. It is said that when he was an *ephebe* he held a public reading of the *Voyage of the Argo* and was adversely criticized for it. Because he was unable to bear the obloquy from the citizens and the slander of the other poets, he left his fatherland and went into exile in Rhodes, and there he polished and improved his poems and so held a public reading and was very well-received. For that reason he put his name down as Apollonius of Rhodes. He was a famous teacher in Rhodes and was awarded citizenship and honor by the city of Rhodes. (*Vita* A, 1 Wendel)

[11] Lefkowitz (1984) 340–2.

Vita B offers essentially the same story, but adds that his mother was called Rhode, and that "some say that he went back to Alexandria and having given a second public reading there won high praise and so was 'thought worthy of' the library and Museum and buried alongside Callimachus". The brief entry in the Suda (A 3419 Adler) adds that he was a contemporary of Eratosthenes, Euphorion, and Timarchus, at the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.), and that he was Eratosthenes' successor as Librarian of the Alexandrian Library.[12]

It is impossible to know what sources of information lie behind these brief accounts. Clearly the compilers of the two manuscript biographies at some point had before them divergent or incomplete accounts. Apparently scholars did not agree on the name of his father, or on the question of whether or not he returned to Alexandria after his stay in Rhodes. The compiler of *Vita* A chose to mention his return to Rhodes, while *Vita* B did not, and neither gives the reason for his decision. It looks as if the compiler of the Suda entry preserves two specific pieces of historical information, although even there some chronological confusion is involved. The Suda says that Apollonius lived during the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes I, and that he was Eratosthenes' successor as librarian of the Alexandrian library. But a papyrus list of librarians dating from the second or third century A.D. makes him Eratosthenes' *predecessor*: "Apollonius son of Silleus, an Alexandrian known as a Rhodian ([Ἀπολλ]ώνιος Σιλλέως Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ καλούμενος Ῥόδιος), an acquaintance of Callimachus. He was the teacher of the first [sic] Ptolemy. Eratosthenes succeeded him" (P. Oxy. 1241 col. ii.i/T 13 Pf.).

The biographies seem to be consistent about the question of Apollonius' relationship with Callimachus. *Vita* A and B and the Suda say he was a pupil (μαθητής) of Callimachus; the papyrus list of librarians (P. Oxy. 1241) says that he was an acquaintance of Callimachus (γνώριμος). That would imply that he flourished during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.). But they disagree about other details: *Vita* A records also that he kept company with him, and after a long time (ὀψέ) turned to writing poetry. *Vita* B omits those details, but adds that after he returned from exile and was "thought worthy of" the library and Museum he was buried alongside Callimachus. All the sources suggest that he was closely

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[12] Wendel (1958) 1–2.

associated with Callimachus. But we need not take at face value the information that he was Callimachus' pupil, or that Callimachus was his instructor in rhetoric (γραμματικός), as *Vita* B tells us: these terms are anachronisms, dating (at the earliest) from late antiquity. In the biographies "pupil" and "teacher" are metaphors for a perceived connection between two authors. Most often it means that the later author was thought notably to have been influenced by the earlier author's works.[13]

Aside from the information that Apollonius was closely associated with Callimachus and was Librarian at Alexandria, how much of the information in these biographies is likely to be historical? If the information in the papyrus is correct, Apollonius preceded Eratosthenes as librarian. But then why does the compiler of the Suda entry manage to make Apollonius Eratosthenes' *successor*? One possibility is that a biographer confused Apollonius of Rhodes with Apollonius of Alexandria known as the Eidographer, who succeeded Aristophanes of Byzantium as librarian (P. Oxy. 1341 col. ii.9–11).[14] The compiler of *Vita* A is not even sure which Ptolemy was on the throne during Apollonius' lifetime.[15] Whoever copied the papyrus list of librarians inadvertently placed Apollonius under the "first" (πρώτου) Ptolemy, Ptolemy I Soter I (305–285 B.C.), unless the correct reading is the "fifth" (πέμπτου), Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.), which would make sense only for Apollonius the Eidographer.

If none of the compilers of the three biographies was precise about chronology, how accurately have they preserved other information about the poet? We have seen that in the case of earlier poets' lives biographers invented information that was otherwise lacking or took at face value what comic poets had said in jest. So we must be prepared for the possibility that the name of Apollonius' father may be imaginary, because in either of its forms it is a *hapax legomenon*. If it derives from σίλλος, "lampoon", it may have originated in a satirical poem. The name of the poet Archilochus' mother is said by Critias to have been Enipo (Critias 88 B4 DK); ἐνίπη means "abuse". The name of Apollonius' mother, Rhode, is a real name; but could it have been suggested by his epithet Rhodius?[16]

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[13] Fairweather (1974) 262–3; Lefkowitz (1981) 128–9, 131–2.
[14] Rengakos (1992a) 47–8.
[15] Fraser (1972) 331–2.
[16] Lefkowitz (1981) 130.

It is also puzzling that Apollonius is known both as an Alexandrian and a Rhodian. According to the papyrus list of librarians he was an "Alexandrian known as a Rhodian" (Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ καλούμενος Ῥόδιος, P. Oxy. 1241 col. ii.i/T 13 Pf.). At the time Rhodians who lived in Alexandria were known as "so-and-so of Rhodes" (e.g. Ἀλεξικράτης Ῥόδιος, Δρομάρης Ῥόδιος, Παυσίστρατος Ῥόδιος, Δημήτριος Ῥόδιος).[17] But close association with a city other than one's birthplace could result in one's being known by the names of both one's native and adoptive cities. Strabo says that "Dionysius the Thracian and Apollonius who wrote the *Voyage of the Argo*, although both Alexandrians, were called Rhodians" (*Geog.* 14.3.13). Dionysius taught in Rhodes after he was exiled from Alexandria in 144 B.C. The Stoic philosopher Posidonius is listed in the Suda as "of Apamea in Syria or of Rhodes", where he kept a school of philosophy (Π 2107).[18] But in some cases biographers appear to have assumed that poets physically spent time in the places that they wrote about. According to his Suda entry, some biographers called Nicander of Colophon "Aetolian" (Κολοφώνιος, κατὰ δέ τινας Αἰτωλός, N 374 Adler). The author of his manuscript *Vita* explains why: "he spent time in Aetolia, *as is evident* from his writings and poems about Aetolia" (ὡς φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Αἰτωλίας συγγραμμάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ποιήσεως).

So it seems that (at least in biographies) there are several ways in which one can acquire a second (or third) geographical designation: by being born in a particular place, by physical association with it, or by writing about it. Apollonius wrote poems about Rhodes, Alexandria, and Naucratis.[19] Athenaeus calls Apollonius not an Alexandrian but a "Rhodian or Naucratite" (Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἢ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν Ναυκράτεως κτίσει, 7.283 D–E). Did Athenaeus suppose Apollonius came from Naucratis because Apollonius wrote a poem about the foundation of Naucratis, or was he claiming him for Naucratis out of patriotism, because Athenaeus himself came from there?[20] The two manuscript *Vitae* offer a different explanation: Apollonius was known as a Rhodian because he went into voluntary exile in Rhodes, was well-received there, and he was made a Rhodian citizen.

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[17] Fraser (1972) vol. II, 149 n., 209.
[18] Cameron (1995) 216.
[19] He also wrote about the foundation of Caunus, Cnidos, and Lesbos (F 4–12 Powell).
[20] Rengakos (1992a) 53–4.

Whoever invented this story imagined that the citizenship rules in fifth-century Athens were the same as in third-century Alexandria. The story about Apollonius in Rhodes also does not represent the meaning of citizenship in the third century B.C. accurately: Greek cities ordinarily extended *proxenia* rather than citizenship to citizens of other cities. At the time, the one exception to this rule was Alexandria, because that city wished to attract new citizens. Most Greeks who came there refused to give up their original affiliations, including all the leading literary men who were invited there and subsidized by Ptolemy I Soter.[21] Why should Apollonius be the one apparent exception to this rule? Apollonius could have been a Rhodian who became a "naturalized" Alexandrian, according to *Vita* A, a member of the Ptolemaic tribe, one of the artificial tribes created by Ptolemy I Soter? That possibility (rather than the story of exile to Rhodes) would provide the most natural explanation of his apparent dual citizenship. Aristophanes' biographers imagined that naturalization was possible also in fifth-century Athens. They saw that comic poets had claimed that Aristophanes came from Aegina (his family owned property there) or even from Rhodes, Lindos, Egypt, or Camirus and needed to reconcile these claims with the fact that he presents himself in his plays as an Athenian citizen.[22] So they concluded that Aristophanes "was made an Athenian, for he was enrolled by them as a citizen" (θέσει δὲ Ἀθηναῖος· ἐπολιτογραφήθη γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς, Suda A 3932 Adler/T 2b *PCG*).[23]

Why did the compilers of the two manuscript lives (or their sources) suppose that exile was a reasonable way to explain why Apollonius was called "Rhodian"? If (as it appears) they did not know the difference between Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy III Euergetes I they could hardly have had any detailed knowledge of the historical context in which Ptolemy I Soter attempted to recruit citizens for the new city of Alexandria. As scholars, they would have known from other biographies that many of the famous poets were thought to have gone into exile because the citizens of their own cities became angry at them. According to one of his biographers, Homer left his

[21] Selden (1998) 294, 300.

[22] In reality he was the son of Philippos, from the deme Kydathenaion; this information, reported in his *Vita* (T 1.1 *PCG*), is confirmed by an inscription (*IG* II^2 1740.21/T 9 *PCG*).

[23] Lefkowitz (1981) 112, 130.

home town of Cyme in Asia Minor because the town government would not support him at public expense (*Vit. Herod.* 13–4); Aeschylus' biographer reports that according to his sources the poet went into voluntary exile in Sicily because of adverse criticism of his poetry:

> He went off [to Syracuse] to stay with Hieron, according to some authorities, because he was criticized by the Athenians and defeated by Sophocles when the latter was a young man, but according to others because he was defeated by Simonides with an elegy for those who died at Marathon. Elegy in particular needs to have the conciseness necessary to arouse emotion, and Aeschylus' poem (as we said) did not. Some say that during the performance of the *Eumenides*, when he brought the chorus on one by one, he so frightened the audience that children fainted and unborn infants were aborted (*Vit. Aesch.*/T 1. 8–9 Radt).

The compiler of Aeschylus' *Vita* apparently did not realize that children and women were unlikely to have been in the audience when the *Eumenides* was first performed, or that Aeschylus would have been well rewarded for going to Sicily. One of Euripides' biographers supposes that the reason why Euripides went into voluntary exile had something to do with the way he was treated in Athens: "the comic poets also attacked him and tore him to pieces in their envy. He disregarded all this and went away to Macedonia to the court of King Archelaus" (*Vit. Eur.*/T 1.35 Kovacs). The author of the Suda entry on Euripides suggests that the poet went into exile because of his marital difficulties (E 3695 Adler/T 2.8 Kovacs);[24] again no one suggests that a visit to Archelaus would have been very profitable. For all of these biographers voluntary exile provided a ready explanation of why the poets left their homelands, and often died without returning.

According to the compilers of the two *Vitae*, Apollonius, like the Athenian dramatists Aeschylus and Euripides, is supposed to have gone into voluntary exile because his work was not well received at home; his work was better appreciated in exile, like that of Aeschylus and Euripides. Although there is no analogy in the earlier biographies to the story that while in Rhodes he spent his time polishing and improving his poem, so that he was able to perform it again successfully, we need not look far for the origin of this story. It

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[24] Lefkowitz (1981) 129.

accounts for the existence of a supposed "first edition" (προέκδοσις) of the *Voyage of the Argo*. This "first edition" is mentioned in the *scholia* to Apollonius in connection with six sets of variant lines in book 1 (285–6; 516–8; 543; 725; 788; 801–3); variants are also preserved in cross-references in the *scholia* in two passages in book 2 (963–4; 1116)—a total of 17 lines.[25] Was the "first edition" and the story of Apollonius' reworking of the text invented to explain the existence of these variants?[26]

There is no analogy in the biographies of earlier poets to the story in *Vita* A of Apollonius' success and recognition in his place of exile or in *Vita* B of Apollonius' triumphant return to Alexandria, where he was "judged worthy of" the Library and the Museum, and buried next to Callimachus. Perhaps, as Cameron suggests, the detail about his being "a famous teacher in Rhodes" (ἐπαίδευσε δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐν αὐτῇ, *Vita* A) derives from a confusion on the part of some biographer between himself and a later Apollonius, the first-century Apollonius of Alabanda who taught rhetoric in Rhodes.[27] Perhaps the notion of Apollonius' return to Alexandria was invented to explain another confusion, which is that the name Apollonius appears twice in close succession on the list of Librarians. Or it may simply attempt to account for the tradition that Callimachus and Apollonius were buried together, like members of the same family.

On the basis of biographical information about Apollonius that we have considered so far, no one would imagine that he had ever had a significant disagreement with Callimachus. But the biographical tradition about Callimachus says that Callimachus considered Apollonius to be his enemy: according to the Suda entry, Callimachus wrote the "*Ibis*—this is a poem noted for its obscurity and abuse against one Ibos [sic], who was an enemy (ἐχθρός) of Callimachus. This was Apollonius of Rhodes, who wrote the *Voyage of the Argo*" (Suda K 227/T 1 Pf.).

The work referred to was undoubtedly Callimachus' *Ibis*. But if it was noted for its obscurity, how could biographers know for sure that it was directed at Apollonius?[28] The most likely explanation is that they knew Apollonius' name and that he was a contemporary

[25] Vian (^{2}1976) xxi.
[26] Rengakos (1992a) 48.
[27] Cameron (1995) 214.
[28] Cameron (1995) 228.

of Callimachus. They knew from the prologue to the *Aitia* that Callimachus said that: "Telchines complain of my song, ignorant men who are not friends of the Muses", because he has not written a long poem (fr. 1.1–3 Pf.). The most famous long poem of his time was the *Voyage of the Argo*. Ancient biographers were always eager to find historical counterparts to mythical figures: when Pindar speaks of chattering jackdaws in comparison with the eagle of Zeus, ancient commentators suggested that "he is hinting at Bacchylides and Simonides, calling himself an eagle, and his rivals jackdaws" (αἰνίττεται Βακχυλίδην καὶ Σιμωνίδην, ἑαυτὸν λέγων ἀετόν, κόρακας δὲ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους, *sch.* Pind. *O.* 2.157a.2). So it was only natural to suppose that Apollonius' exile was connected with Callimachus' enmity. The story about the poor reception of the "first edition" of the *Voyage of the Argo* and Apollonius' voluntary exile also suggested the possibility of tension between Apollonius and the other poets attached to the royal court. That appears to be the idea behind the crude epigram attributed to Apollonius the grammarian: "he was responsible, Callimachus, who wrote the *Origins*" (αἴτιος ὁ γράψας Αἴτια Καλλίμαχος, *AP* 11.275.2 /T 25 Pf.).[29]

Why did ancient biographers choose to concentrate on the story of the quarrel, and on Apollonius' discomfiture and exile, rather than on the kind of information we would now prefer to have: an exact account of his early life and education, along with a precise chronology of his career and motivations for writing what he did? The answer may be that these were the kind of events, real or imaginary, that enabled them best to explain why, despite obvious affinities between Callimachus' writings and Apollonius', Callimachus' poetry appeared to them to be more admired and to have had the widest influence. Biography, for them, was literary criticism in narrative form. But the story of the quarrel has also appealed to ancient and modern scholars because it offered a ready explanation of what Callimachus had in mind when he spoke in mythical and metaphorical terms about his critics, and so created a literary world in Alexandria that was full of drama and excitement. Ancient poets often complain of the envy and malignity of real and imaginary enemies. Callimachus calls his detractors Telchines, but does not identify them with any of his contemporaries. Some of the possibilities

[29] Rengakos (1992a) 63.

are named in a fragment of *scholia* to a papyrus of *Aitia*, but Apollonius' name is not among them. So it appears that the idea that Apollonius was an enemy of Callimachus must derive from the existence of the poem *Ibis*, and the notion that it was somehow connected with Apollonius' departure for Rhodes.

In conclusion, I would suggest that it would be a mistake to expect that we could extract from the biographical information that we have about Apollonius anything that might help us date his poetry with precision, or allow us to understand exactly what his contemporaries thought of it. Only one aspect of the tradition can be corroborated from Apollonius' poetry, and that is the notion that he was closely connected with Callimachus: his interest in *aitia*, in geography, in religious practices, his carefully crafted verse, which does not rely on epic formulae.[30] The biographers were surely right in judging Callimachus to be the greater poet. But their suggestion that he quarreled with Apollonius has kept students of Apollonius' work from judging it on its own merits. It has also allowed ingenious scholars like Cameron to suppose that they could reconstruct with accuracy detailed accounts of the literary ambience in Alexandria.

4. *Biographies of Hellenistic Poets*

In *Callimachus and his Critics* Cameron goes out of his way to imply that the biographers of the Hellenistic poets were more accurate and sophisticated than those of the earlier poets. He believes that in *The Lives of the Greek Poets* I was overly skeptical about the historical value of the biographies of Hellenistic poets. His aim (or so it would appear) is to encourage his readers in their turn to be skeptical about my discussion of the quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius.[31] He believes that there is more historical value in the sources than I had realized:

> Lefkowitz took too little account of the very different nature of the sources available for the lives of Hellenistic writers. To be sure, these sources have seldom survived in their original form, but much of what they have said has been preserved in varying degrees of detail and

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[30] Lefkowitz (1981) 133–5; Rengakos (1992a) 65–7; Cameron (1995) 228, 247–56.
[31] Cameron (1995) 185–7.

> accuracy in later compilations, chief among them Diogenes Laertius and Athenaeus.
>
> Furthermore, it is the *Lives* of the Greek poets that Lefkowitz studied, and not the lives of the Greek poets. Since the surviving versions of these *Lives* are mostly products of late antiquity, the end result of centuries of abridgement prefixed to Byzantine copies of their works, it is not surprising that they preserve little of value. But that does not mean that better information based on reliable sources never existed.[32]

I am not sure why Cameron says that my book was about the *Lives* rather than the lives of Greek poets, since in *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, both in my chapter on Hellenistic poets and elsewhere, I discuss many other source materials other than the abridged Byzantine lives. Also I cannot understand why he says that I took "too little account" of the difference between earlier and later sources; in the chapter on Euripides in particular, where we have Satyrus' biographical dialogue from the Hellenistic period, I show in detail how in the later tradition jokes were reinterpreted as disparagement.[33]

What specific source materials had I overlooked? None of the sources Cameron goes on to cite turns out to have any relevance to the question of the accuracy of the Hellenistic biographies. Cameron cites Ion of Chios, who told stories about Aeschylus and Sophocles in his *Epidemiai*: "there is no reason to believe that these too were intended to link the dramatists with their dramas".[34] But in none of the passages from *The Lives of the Greek Poets* that Cameron cites did I ever claim that Ion based his anecdotes on these poets' works. Rather, I sought only to point out that Ion's accounts of dinner conversations should not be understood as literal transcripts of what was said.[35] Nor did I ever seek to deny that some of the surviving biographical information about the poets comes from sources other than their own poetry and comedies about them. The Athenians in the fifth century kept records of certain public events, such as the *Didaskaliai* of the performances of tragedies and comedies.[36] Members of Athenian demes put up inscriptions recording honors awarded to their members for participating in local cults.[37] Biographers could have learned

[32] Cameron (1995) 186.
[33] Lefkowitz (1981) 98–104.
[34] Cameron (1995) 186.
[35] Lefkowitz (1981) 67.
[36] Sickinger (1999) 46.
[37] Whitehead (1986) 184–5, 380–1.

from these that Sophocles led the chorus that sang the paean at the sacrifice after the Athenian victory at Salamis (*Vit. Soph.* 3) or that Euripides was the torch-bearer of Apollo Zosterios (*Vita* 8/T 1 Kovacs).

What other biographical data was available to ancient biographers? Cameron implies that Philochorus and Theophrastus made the question of Euripides' birth a subject of serious research: "Theophrastus cited temple records to prove that Euripides was well-born".[38] But a closer look at the passage Cameron cites (Philochorus 328 *FGrHist* F 218, IIIb Suppl. I, Text, 585) suggests that Theophrastus was writing about a different topic altogether. Jacoby's commentary refers to a passage from Athenaeus (10.424E–F/T 12 Kovacs), in which the famous jurist Ulpian of Tyre (Ath. 1.1D–E) is rattling off citations of what writers have said about mixing water with wine. Ulpian observes that the wine-pourers came from the best families.[39] In support of his assertion he cites Theophrastus, who said in his treatise *On Drunkenness* (fr. 119 Wimmer): "in any case I have heard that even the poet Euripides poured wine for the men known as the Dancers". Theophrastus had heard (πυνθάνομαι) the story, and mentioned the young Euripides as an example of the significance accorded to the ceremony of wine-pouring in Athens in his treatise on drinking. Ulpian mentions a γραφή about the ceremony in which the Dancers took part in the temple of the Laurel Bearer (i.e. Apollo Daphnephoros) in Phlya, which was according to Harpocration Euripides' birthplace (T 11 Kovacs).[40] Presumably Ulpian—who in Athenaeus always comes up with the most astonishing array of citations—is referring to an inscription on the temple wall that listed the names of participants in the ceremony, the kind of inscriptions that presumably recorded that Euripides was the torch-bearer of Apollo Zosterios (*Vita* 8/T 1 Kovacs).[41] But we cannot infer from this passage that Theophrastus (or anyone else) consulted an archive there of "temple records" in the process of writing about the life of Euripides. In any case, Theophrastus was writing about the use of wine, not about the poet's biography.

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[38] Cameron (1995) 187.

[39] Ulpian also notes that Sappho in her poetry mentions that her brother Larichus was a wine-pourer (Ath. 10. 425A/Sappho T 203 Voigt).

[40] Deubner (1932) 202.

[41] For example, Plutarch (who appears as one of the characters in Athenaeus' banquet) reports that the figurehead of the first Persian ship to be captured at Salamis was dedicated to Apollo the Laurel Bearer in Phlya (*Themist.* 15.2).

Cameron goes on to list some of the titles of Hellenistic treatises about poetry; in particular he complains that I did not take sufficient account of the work of Lynceus, "a disciple of Theophrastus, who wrote a treatise on Menander in at least two books". He adds:[42]

> To judge from his other works (known from a number of quotations in Athenaeus), Lynceus was fascinated by the trivial and anecdotal, but *it would be absurd to suppose* that a contemporary who lived in Athens and even wrote comedies himself preserved nothing of value. Though mainly concerned with Menander's plays, Lynceus is *bound to have* touched on numerous biographical and prosopographical details, details on which he *undoubtedly* had first-hand information.

Cameron is confident that Lynceus preserved valuable information about Menander, but it is clear from his own words that he cannot lay hands on any evidence that would support his assertions. Instead, he relies on conjecture (see italicized words above). But on what grounds does Cameron suppose that Lynceus was any more accurate about his contemporary Menander than Aristophanes was about his contemporaries Euripides and Socrates? In the one quotation from his *On Menander* that has survived, Lynceus sounds more like Ion of Chios than like Plutarch. He records some funny sayings by two witty parasites and notes that the more affable of the two was better liked (Ath. 650B–C). He appears to have been telling these stories to make a moral point; but then he was writing a biographical treatise (ὑπόμνημα) about Menander, not an account of his individual life or the history of his times. In any case Lynceus was not a pupil of Theophrastus, but a friend (Θεοφράστου γνώριμος, Suda Λ 776).[43]

Cameron mentions a number of other authors who wrote about kings, hetaeras, philosophers, poets and other celebrities. Very little of this material, as Cameron admits, has any direct relevance to the biographies of Callimachus or Apollonius. None of the anecdotes or epigrams that survive from these works suggest that they contained anything but the usual exemplary anecdotes that we have discussed above in connection with Ion, Satyrus, and Lynceus. But Cameron is justified in scolding me for not having discussed the lives of Aratus and Nicander in my discussion of the Hellenistic poets in *The Lives*

[42] Cameron (1995) 188.
[43] Nesselrath (1990) 105–6, n. 51.

of the Greek Poets. I might also have said something about the lives of Theocritus. Can we infer from these biographies that there was more reliable information at the disposal of Hellenistic biographers than my work on the Hellenistic poets has suggested?

In the case of the lives of Theocritus and Nicander, the answer is no. The compilers of Theocritus' lives record that his father was Praxagoras or Simichos—the latter, as the compiler of the Byzantine life notes, because he calls himself "son of Simichos" (Simichidas in *Id.* 7.21). The compiler of the Byzantine *Vita* of Nicander identifies Nicander as the son of Damaios, a priest of Apollo at Claros. His source for that information is Nicander's own verse (*Theriaca* 958; *Alexipharmaca* 11). The compiler of the *Vita* remarks that Dionysius of Phaselis said that Nicander came from Aitolia, but argues instead that he spent a long time in Aitolia, to judge from his frequent references to that region of mainland Greece. The compiler of the Suda identifies Nicander as "the son of Xenophanes of Colophon, or according to some authorities, an Aitolian" (Νίκανδρος, Ξενοφάνους, Κολοφώνιος, κατὰ δέ τινας Αἰτωλός, Suda Λ 374). As Cameron points out, neither the *Vita* nor the Suda entry for Nicander seems aware that there were in fact two Nicanders, one who was active around 280–250 B.C., and the other around 200. The first Nicander is identified as the son of Anaxagoras in an inscription of 254/3 at Delphi (*Syll.*³ 452); presumably whoever wrote the Suda entry confused the names of two famous philosophers.[44] The compiler of the Suda entry assigns to the younger Nicander all works written under that same name. Most scholars agree on the basis of style and content that it was the younger of the two who wrote the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*.[45] Cameron argues vigorously that it was the older, since he and Aratus each appear to imitate the other,[46] but he does not discuss the scientific evidence that suggests that it was the later of the two. Even if Cameron were right about the date of the author of the *Alexipharmaca*, it is hard to understand why he judges the "prosopography" in the lives of Nicander to be particularly "accurate".[47]

Vita A of Aratus in particular is much longer than those of Apollonius and provides information about Aratus' family, his tutors, his

[44] Cameron (1995) 198; cf. 271 *FGrHist* F 1–2 with commentary IIIA, 233–4.
[45] Gow – Scholfield (1953) 7.
[46] Cameron (1995) 203.
[47] Cameron (1995) 213; cf. Jacques (1979) 33–41.

contemporaries (he was an older contemporary of Callimachus), and his association with Antigonos Gonatas, the king of Macedonia (277/6–229 B.C.), who gave him the assignment of writing the *Phaenomena*. It is here, then, if anywhere, that we have an example of the "biographical and prosopographical detail" that Hellenistic biographers might have had at their disposal. What were the sources that the compiler of *Vita* A consulted? He cites poetry about Aratus. He quotes Callimachus' epigram about Aratus twice, once to confirm that he came from Soloi, and again to confirm that Aratus was an "imitator" (ζηλωτής) of Hesiod (*HE* 1297–1300/*AP* 9.507). He also cites an epigram about writers of *Phaenomena* by Ptolemy (712 *SH*/ 311–14 *FGE*), though he does not specify which Ptolemy.[48] In addition, the compiler says that he consulted Aratus' letters, which he considers to be genuine. These letters have not survived, but the compiler of *Vita* A notes that "Apollonides the Cephean [sic] in the eighth book of his *On False History* says that the letters were not written by Aratus, but by Sabirus [sic] Polio; he said that the same man wrote the letters of Euripides". If the scholar mentioned is probably the grammarian Apollonides of Nicaea, and P. Sabidius Pollio is the author of the letters, they were written no earlier than the mid-first century A.D.[49]

How reliable a source were the letters of Aratus? If they were written by the same man who wrote the letters of Euripides (T 100 Kovacs), they are (a) *not* by Aratus and (b) fictional rather than historical in nature.[50] Some of the names mentioned in the letters of Euripides are otherwise well-known, such as Aristophanes and Sophocles. Others (like Cephisophon) seem to derive from comedy (T 1.12 Kovacs). In the letters, Euripides is represented as explaining why he left Athens and went to the court of Archelaos; he gives advice to the king and discusses local events. In general, the letters appear to have been designed to make Euripides appear to have been wise and generous. But they make no specific references to dates, and do not include the particular messages and expressions of concern that are characteristic of authentic correspondence. If the letters of Aratus were similar to these in nature, as the ancient scholar

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[48] Since Aratus was a contemporary of Alexander Aetolus, the author of the epigram is almost certainly Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.).

[49] Gößwein (1975) 6–12.

[50] Gößwein (1975) 28–30.

Apollonides thought, their historical value would have been limited. At best, they would have preserved the names of some of Aratus' contemporaries, as known from his own works or what they said about him in theirs. But they would have contained fictional matter that would also have made its way into the later Lives, such as the stories about how Antigonos encouraged Aratus to write a poem based on Eudoxus' astronomical handbook, the *Mirror*.

Cameron devotes considerable ingenuity to trying to establish an accurate chronology for both Nicanders and Aratus, and to assign the works attributed to Nicander to the appropriate bearer of that name. That so much effort is required to make sense of the tradition provides eloquent testimony to the deficiencies of the data even in these "better" lives. It is puzzling also that Cameron does not discuss the specific source materials mentioned or cited in these lives. In particular he does not discuss the biographer Dionysius' clearly erroneous supposition that Nicander son of Damaios came from Aitolia; he does not point out to his readers that the compiler of the long *Vita* A of Aratus tells us himself that he is drawing on the letters of Aratus, which he supposes to be genuine, but that one ancient critic considered them, along with the letters of Euripides, to be spurious.

As a result, I do not believe that Cameron has demonstrated, or indeed that anyone can demonstrate, that Hellenistic biographers had at their disposal the kinds of source materials that would have enabled them to provide us with the kind of information that we would like to have. Individual biographers, like the compiler of *Vita* A of Aratus, may from time to time demonstrate their common sense in discarding implausible material, but they are at their most reliable when their information is drawn directly from what the poets themselves tell us. Perhaps the lives can also provide us with some limited information about a poet's contemporaries; here even the brief Byzantine lives of Apollonius are not misleading. But names can also lead to confusion, especially when biographers appear to have amalgamated into one entity different persons who bore the same name. Thus Apollonius of Rhodes acquires some of the experiences of Apollonius the Eidographer and Apollonius of Alabanda, and the two Nicanders of Colophon are blended into one. Because of such confusion, I do not think that there is any reason to suppose, as does Cameron, that silences in the lives can also give us a precise sense of patterns of acquaintance, or that "what these *Lives*

do not say is as accurate as what they do say".[51] It is of course possible that the absence of any reference to Apollonius in the *Vitae* of his contemporaries implies that Apollonius was active only in Egypt and Rhodes.[52] But it is much more likely that the absence of his name in the *Vitae* of other poets may indicate only that later critics did not think that these poets had any mutual influences on one another.

5. *Conclusion*

Cameron concludes his discussion of Hellenistic biography by stating:[53]

> It is too simple to brush aside the entire biographical tradition. The "ancient" *Lives* of Apollonius are largely worthless, but his Suda *Life* is a little better, and the Oxyrhynchus librarian list better still. Theocritus's Suda *Life* is worthless, but one of the other *Lives* preserves a few scraps. And the *Lives* of Aratus and Nicander clearly derive from early Hellenistic tradition. Their prosopography is especially well founded. Good information was available, and there is no reason in principle why the life and connections of Callimachus should have been less well documented than those of his contemporaries.

Here Cameron is describing a fictional enemy. No one, so far as I know, including myself, has sought to "brush aside the whole biographical tradition". Nor has anyone said that the Byzantine lives of Apollonius and Theocritus are "worthless", because even these record who their contemporaries were and what they wrote. I doubt that anyone would disagree with Cameron's assessment of the value of the surviving sources of biographical information about Apollonius, but he needs to qualify what he means by *better. Better* than what?[54] The ancient lives of Hesiod and Euripides? It is hard to see how. The biographers of Aratus and Nicander, like Euripides' biographers, mined such biographical information as they could find from the

[51] Cameron (1995) 214.
[52] Cameron (1995) 213.
[53] Cameron (1995) 219.
[54] Similarly, when Cameron (1995) 186 says, "much of what they said has been preserved in varying degrees of detail and accuracy in later compilations", what does he mean by "much"?

poets' own writings. They also drew on the work of their contemporaries, and from works later attributed to them, such as the *Letters* of Aratus. In that way they came up with the names of some of the people with whom the poets lived and worked. But it is somewhat misleading to say that "their prosopography is especially well founded", when it is not infrequently marred by misidentification (as in the case of the various Ptolemies, Apollonii and Nicanders), and often depends upon conjecture and inference (Ibis is Apollonius, Apollonius was Callimachus' pupil). Perhaps "there is no reason in principle why the life and connections of Callimachus should have been less well-documented than those of his contemporaries", but *in practice* none of the lives and connections of any Hellenistic poet is as well-documented as we would like them to be.

Perhaps it is safe to say that Apollonius knew and admired Callimachus, and that he was head of the Alexandrian library. The respect paid to him by writers such as Virgil suggests that his work was read and studied long after his death. Was he a Rhodian and a naturalized citizen? Did he go into voluntary exile? Do we know the names of his parents? Probably not. We can say almost nothing with certainty. That Aeschylus and Euripides were erroneously thought to have gone into voluntary exile does not prove that Apollonius did not actually do so. But because we know so little, I believe it is a mistake to try to write a precise literary history of intellectual life in Alexandria. I do not believe that on the basis of the information that we now have we can know exactly when Apollonius published the *Voyage of the Argo* and Callimachus published the *Aitia* prologue. Since we do not have the information that enables us to write that kind of history, I believe that instead we should devote our energies to learning about what we do have: the poems themselves, and the subjects that the poets wrote about, especially the poets who found themselves in Egypt, writing about the myths and the geography of a Greek world that they themselves could never have seen in its entirety. As Callimachus said of his friend Heracleitus, it is the poems that have endured; not the mortal beings who composed them.[55]

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[55] ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που, / ξεῖν' Ἀλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή, / αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ᾗσιν ὁ πάντων / ἁρπακτὴς Ἀΐδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ (Callimachus, *Epigr.* 2.3–6 Pf./1206–8 *HE*).

HELLENISTIC CHRONOLOGY: THEOCRITUS, CALLIMACHUS, AND APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

Adolf Köhnken

1. *Introduction*

Research on early Hellenistic chronology is in a bewildering state. Although it is a well established fact that the poems of Theocritus and Callimachus and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius are closely linked intertextually and that the similarities, of which the most striking occur in the Hylas and Amykos stories of Theocritus and Apollonius, cannot be put down to chance, scholars are far from agreeing on who alludes to whom.

Whereas, for example, Gow fifty years ago was definitely sure that Apollonius' Hylas and Amykos stories antedate those of Theocritus and that Theocritus was a partisan of Callimachus in the latter's fight against the long epic poem,[1] today a growing number of scholars are much more reluctant to commit themselves[2]—or have even

[1] Gow (1952) vol. I, XXII f.: "In *Id.* 13 and in the second part of *Id.* 22 he took episodes from the first and second books of the *Argonautica* and rehandled them in accordance with the principles of Callimachus"; cf. (1952) vol. II, 231 f. (on *Id.* 13): "the view (sc. of Wilamowitz) . . . that T. writes with his eye on A. seems undoubtedly correct. The strongest argument in its favour is the inferiority of the story in A."; see also his two earlier articles on *Id.* 13, (1938) 10–17, and *Id.* 22, (1942) 11–13. Although R. Pfeiffer objected strongly (1949–51) vol. II, XLII: "Si re vera Theocritus meliora reddidisset . . . id quod Gow mihi non magis persuasit quam alii critici . . ."), it has remained the prevailing, though increasingly contested view. In a detailed analysis of the Hylas and Amykos stories of both Theocritus and Apollonius I tried to show that the "inferiority claim" is, in fact, based on prejudice and insufficient understanding of Apollonius' text (Köhnken [1965]: esp. 26–31; 56–83 on "Hylas", 89–93; 108–21 on "Amykos"). Unsubstantiated criticisms such as that of Stanzel (1995) 230 n. 3 ("Köhnkens eindeutig apologetische Tendenz") fail to take account of the issue at stake. Or does Stanzel still believe that there is not much to be said in favour of Apollonius' narrative? (See his one-sided remarks on "die Verdichtung des Geschehens bei Theokrit", 242–7, and cf. below 74 with n. 6 and 7).

[2] See, e.g., Clauss (1993) 198 n. 42 (undecided); Knight (1995) 133 (undecided); cf. Gummert (1992) 114 with n. 49 (Theocritus' priority more likely); Hunter (1999)

come to regard Theocritus as prior to Apollonius and Callimachus.[3] Assessing the balance is, however, made difficult by an astonishing amount of insufficient or even clearly wrong statements about the evidence.[4]

To illustrate this last point I quote a paragraph from Stanzel's recent monograph on *Liebende Hirten*.[5] After stating that in questions of chronology the arguments used often tend to be reversible, he writes with regard to Theocritus' and Apollonius' versions of the Hylas story: ". . . die Mehrheit der Interpreten (spricht sich) heute für die Priorität des Apollonios aus. Dieser Auffassung wird man schon deshalb eine gewisse Plausibilität nicht absprechen können, weil eine traditionalistische Version, wie sie Apollonios bietet, nach der radikalen Darstellung Theokrits schwerlich denkbar wäre". This assertion is unsatisfactory or even misleading for more than one reason. On the one hand, recent research has shown that Apollonius' *Argonautica* is far from being "traditionalistic",[6] and on the other there is little reason for calling Theocritus' version more "radical" (whatever that means) than that of Apollonius.[7] Preconceived ideas like this one will do little to establish the relative chronology of Theocritus and Apollonius.

More specific but hardly more promising is the alleged adherence of Theocritus to the "school of Callimachus", which is taken for granted by many scholars,[8] although the evidence on which it is

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265 ("more likely that T. knew . . . some form of *Arg.* 1 and 2, rather than vice versa"), see also Hunter (1996a) 59 and 61–3.

[3] See, e.g., my book (1965) (with a survey of earlier views, 26–31); Vian, tome I (^{2}1976) 39–49; DeForest (1994) esp. 11–15 and 72; Cameron (1995) 426–31, esp. 430 f.

[4] See, e.g., Rossi (1972) 287 (the "Golden Fleece"); or Effe (1992) 299–309, esp. 307 f. for presumed allusions of Theocritus to Apollonius which are, in fact, references to pre-Hellenistic texts, esp. Pindar, *P.* 4: cf. Köhnken (1996a) 459–61 (with further examples); for a striking error cf. Roth in his review of Stanzel's *Liebende Hirten* (1999) 259: "Wenn etwa Simichidas im 7. Gedicht (Theokrits) *Kallimachos* und den . . . von diesem abgelehnten Asclepiades in einem Atemzug als seine Vorbilder nennt . . ." (my italics): but "Kallimachos" does not occur in *Id.* 7. The error is, however, revealing: it shows what this critic (and others) would have liked to find in *Id.* 7.

[5] Stanzel (1995) 230.

[6] See, e.g., Clauss (1993) 1–13 (with references); Hunter (1993a); DeForest (1994) e.g. 10–17 (with further references).

[7] By "radikale Darstellung" Stanzel seems to mean "'radikal erotische' Darstellung", "während Apollonios Erotisches nur zwischen den Zeilen andeutet" ([1995] 231). This, however, is a difference of principle between the two authors which can hardly be used as a chronological criterion.

[8] See, e.g., after Wilamowitz and Gow, Herter (^{2}1993) 809: "In seiner ganzen

based has sometimes been lost sight of. Is it, for example, justified to call Theocritus "a Callimachean" ("ein Kallimacheer wie Theokrit", Effe)[9] and then deduce from this unsubstantiated claim that Simichidas, the first-person narrator in *Id.* 7, cannot be identified with Theocritus because in 7.39–41 he praises "Asklepiades, einen Telchinen"?

Strangely enough the lines immediately following the passage referred to by Effe, Theoc. *Id.* 7.42–48, in which Lykidas in his answer to Simichidas compares poets who vainly try to compete with Homer (48 ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι) with an architect (45 τέκτων) who endeavours to build a house as high as Mount Oromedon are often quoted as evidence, actually the only evidence, for Theocritus' subscribing to the poetic principles of Callimachus.[10] Thus Effe by not accepting Simichidas as "the poet's voice" and thereby discarding the programmatic value of Lykidas' answer seems to deprive his own view of "Theocritus the Callimachean" of its very basis.

However, even if one does accept Simichidas in *Id.* 7 as Theocritus' *alter ego* it does not follow that Theocritus sided with Callimachus or had Callimachus' poetry and his rejection of the long epic poem in his mind when he wrote *Id.* 7.36–51. Callimachus is not mentioned in *Id.* 7 nor anywhere else in Theocritus, and there is no certain reference to his poetry in the whole of Theocritus (see below).

Significantly, the poets explicitly referred to by Simichidas as literary models are Sikelidas (= Asclepiades) and Philitas (*Id.* 7.40), both belonging to the oldest generation of Hellenistic poets (beginning of 3rd cent. B.C.) and considerably antedating Callimachus. Moreover, we should keep in mind that in the context of this reference, viz. Simichidas' attitude of studied modesty towards these older poets (42 ὡς ἐφάμαν ἐπίταδες), Lykidas' prompt endorsement of

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Art konnte Th.... nur ein Parteigänger des Kallimachos sein, dessen Programm sich in eid. 7.45 ff. spiegelt"; Dover (1971) 147 (d); Schwinge (1986) 3 with n. 5; Effe (1988); Nauta (1990) 116–37, esp. 131 ff. (on *Id.* 7); more cautiously Hunter (1999) 165 on *Id.* 7 (Lycidas): "Such a poetics, if it deserves the name, has obvious points of contact with Callimachean aesthetics".

[9] Effe (1988) 87–91.

[10] See, e.g., Zanker (1987) 30 n. 12: "*Id.* 7.45–48 certainly places Theocritus on Callimachus' side in the literary battle with the Telchines...", referring to Ott (1969) 162 n. 444 and Halperin (1983), e.g. 169–74, as against Lohse (1966) 413–25, but without considering the context in Theocritus (see above). Ott is, moreover, much more cautious than Zanker takes him to be (see, e.g., Ott [1969] 162 n. 444, contrasting Theocritus and Callimachus: "Für Theokrit ist Homernachahmung Hybris..., für Kallimachos... heißt die Alternative Trivialität und Exklusivität...").

Simichidas' stance (condemning the architect who overreaches himself and the poets who try in vain to equal Homer) is not very likely to be directed against anything but "foolish and hopeless ambition".[11] Under these circumstances it seems to me paramount to reconsider the evidence for chronologically relevant points of contact in the texts of the three main Hellenistic poets. Since long-established clichés (e.g. "Callimachus the modernist fighting the traditionalist Apollonius") and subjective views (e.g. "Theocritus being a poet superior to Apollonius and therefore later") have been discredited in recent research, we are today perhaps in a better position to arrive at more objective and balanced chronological assessments.

The external evidence being on the whole inconclusive, I shall concentrate on the internal evidence for relative dating. Two points should, however, be kept in mind:

(1) The external information we have, which is compatible with the historical data supplied by Theocritus (*Idd.* 7; 14; 15; 16; 17; cf. fr. 3) and with the references to the Ptolemies in Callimachus' poetry,[12] puts Theocritus before Callimachus and Apollonius (he is said to have flourished under the first two Ptolemies whereas Callimachus and Apollonius are dated to the second and third Ptolemies).[13]

(2) Callimachus and Apollonius are closely associated with each other (teacher and pupil resp.) and with the great Library in Alexandria,[14] but there is no external evidence for any personal relationship of either of them with Theocritus or for any connection of the latter with the Library.

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[11] Hutchinson (1988) 202; cf. Cameron (1995) 417 f.

[12] See, e.g., Gow (1952) vol. I, XVII ff.; Dover (1971) XIX–XXII; Hunter (1999) 1 f.; Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XXXVIII–XLI.

[13] Theocritus: *Vita* a, 1 Wendel: ἤκμασε δὲ κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Λαγωόν (mss., cf. Anecdoton Estense 3, 9 Wendel: ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Λαγωοῦ); *Vita* b, 2 Wendel: ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου; Callimachus: Suid. s.v. Καλλίμαχος, Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XCV, T 1: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἦν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου . . . καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου, cf. Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XXXVIII–XLIII; Apollonius: *Vita* A, 1 Wendel: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ⟨τρίτου Wendel⟩ Πτολεμαίου, Καλλιμάχου μαθητής (cf. Suid. s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς· ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου ἐπικληθέντος, μαθητὴς Καλλιμάχου), Dover (1971) XXI f. (C 4) and 179 on *Id.* 13; see also Hunter (1999) 1–3 (who is, however, rather non-committal on the problem of the external dates); for the so-called *proekdosis* of *Arg.* 1–2 see Fantuzzi (1988) 87–120, but cf. the reviews of Vian (1989) 602 f. and myself (1991) 12 f.; see also Haslam (1978) 47–73, esp. 61–7 (67: "I see the proecdosis as existing in fossilized isolation, and not impinging in the slightest on the vicissitudes of the vulgate"); Rengakos (1992a) 48 f.

[14] *Vitae*; cf. P. Ox. 1241 II 1 (prefects of the Alexandrian Library); cf., e.g.,

2. *The Evidence*

2.1. *Callimachus and Apollonius*

Rengakos has recently reminded us that in the *scholia vetera* on Apollonius Callimachus is quoted 45 times and that Apollonius always seems to have been regarded as the borrower, for whose peculiarities of diction or story-telling the reader was, wherever possible, referred to Callimachus.[15] Most of these quotations are of the type ὡς φησὶ Καλλίμαχος, τούτων δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχος μέμνηται, ὡς καὶ Καλλίμαχος or similar, but in two cases the priority of Callimachus is explicitly stated, (1) on *Arg.* 1.1309 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὣς ἤμελλε (μετὰ χρόνον ἐκτελέεσθαι)· Καλλιμάχου ὁ στίχος, and (2) on *Arg.* 4.301 f. (return voyage of the Argonauts) φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὑποστρέψαι αὐτοὺς ἐναντίως Καλλιμάχῳ. The exact purpose of the latter comment is not quite clear because of textual uncertainties,[16] but that of the former, on *Arg.* 1.1309, is confirmed by the fact that only here in the *Argonautica* does Apollonius use the unhomeric form ἤμελλε whereas he uses no less than ten times the Homeric ἔμελλε.[17] This tells against Harder's warning that "the scholiast's comment . . . does not necessarily imply that Callimachus was imitated by Apollonius".[18] In fact, it does: *Arg.* 1.1309, a verbatim quotation of Callimachus, *Aitia* I fr. 12.6 Pf., is a certain instance of Apollonius alluding to Callimachus (in accordance with the biographical tradition that he was Callimachus' pupil).[19]

Actually, the influence of Callimachus has been observed in all four books of the *Argonautica*. I mention only the following examples:[20]

Lefkowitz (1980) 1–19, also in (1981) 117 ff.; Rengakos (1992a) 39–67, esp. 40 ff. (Eichgrün's earlier attempt [1961] is speculative and unreliable).

[15] Rengakos (1992a) 65 f.; see, e.g., *sch.* Arg. 1.996 f. = *Dian.* 108 (ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆι) or *sch.* Arg. 4.1322 f. ἡρῶσσαι Λιβύης τιμήοροι, cf. Call. fr. 602.1 Pf. δέσποιναι Λιβύης ἡρωίδες.

[16] See Wendel (1958) 282, apparatus *ad loc.* (with references).

[17] Erbse (1953) 163 f.; cf. Köhnken (1965) 15 f.

[18] Harder (1993) 103 f. n. 23.

[19] See above n. 13. The context in Callimachus is the confrontation between the Argonauts and their Colchian pursuers in Phaeacia, a passage on which Apollonius also draws in *Arg.* 4.1209–16 (see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 12). There we find a variant of the Callimachean line: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν στείχοντος ἅδην αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη (*Arg.* 4.1216: cf. also 2.528; 4.618, 1764).

[20] See further Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XLI f. and cf. the findings of Harder (1993) 99–110 (a thorough and illuminating analysis with a strangely undecided conclusion, 109 f.); cf. DeForest (1994) 14 with nn. 35 and 36.

(1) *Arg.* 1.411–24 and 4.1694–1705: Jason's prayers, cf. Call. *Aitia* 1, fr. 18 Pf. (with Pfeiffer's apparatus, 25), and see also *SH* fr. 250, 95–7 (with n. 95: "omnia imitatur A.R. 4.1694–1705");

(2) *Arg.* 2.686–719: Epiphany of Apollo, cf. Call. *Ap.* 97–104 (see also Pfeiffer on *Aitia* 3, fr. 88).[21] Apollonius follows Callimachus in the gist and build-up of his story of Apollo's fight against Delphynes and the resulting ἐφύμνιον but replaces Callimachus' direct account by an indirect one (Orpheus' hymn in reported speech) and differs from him in several details: instead of Callimachus' aetiological etymologies of "Apollo" and of the *ephymnion* ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον, Apollonius has three *aitia* of his own (2.686–8, cf. 700: the island of Apollo Heoios; 2.711–3: the origin of the *ephymnion* ἰὴ ἰέ; 2.715–9: the foundation of the temple of Homonoia);

3) *Arg.* 3.927–39: the episode of the crow talking to Mopsos contains reminiscences of Callimachus, *Ap.* 105 and *Hekale*, fr. 260.17 ff. Pf. (add *SH* fr. 288, 130–4) to which Apollonius alludes in other places too: see Vian, tome II (1980) 139 on *Arg.* 3.933 with references (cf. Vian, tome I [1974a] XIV f., and (1961) 117 f. on *Arg.* 3.932);

4) *Arg.* 4.1701–30: the *aitia* of Apollo Aigletes and the island of Anaphe draw on Call. *Aitia* 1, fr. 7–21 Pf., whereas *Arg.* 4.1765–72, the *aition* of the Hydrophoria at Aigina, alludes to Call. *Iamb.* 8, fr. 198 Pf.[22] On the other hand, the *aition* of the Argo's anchor, *Arg.* 1.953–60, goes back to Call. *Aitia* 4, fr. 108 f. Pf. (see Pfeiffer on *Aitia* 4, fr. 109). Moreover, Harder ([1993] 107) has pointed out that "the arrangement" of the story of Anaphe (second *aition* in Call. *Aitia* 1, and last but two in *Arg.* 4) "is mirrored by the location of the story of the anchor" (last but one *aition* in *Aitia* 4, and third *aition* in *Arg.* 1). One may add that the last three *aitia* in the *Argonautica* (*Arg.* 4.1701–30 "Anaphe"; 4.1750–64 "Kalliste/Thera", and 4.1765–72 "Hydrophoria") all have their counterparts in Callimachus (*Aitia* 1 and *Iamb.* 8, see above, and fr. 716 Pf., possibly belonging to the "Anaphe-*aition*" in *Aitia* 1, see Pfeiffer [1949–51] vol. I, 460). By thus joining these *aitia* together at the end of his work Apollonius evidently shows his debt to his teacher (cf. Harder [1993] 108 f. who concludes that the "reminiscences" of Callimachus in the finale of

[21] Cf. DeForest (1994) 15 n. 39 (with further literature).

[22] Cameron (1995), ch. IX 3, pp. 250 ff. and p. 431; cf. below "Theocritus and Apollonius" 83 f.

the *Argonautica* "*might* be considered as a programmatic statement", but still hesitates to endorse this conclusion).

The examples listed above highlight the impact of Callimachus' aetiological poetry on Apollonius the extent of which is clear from the number of *aitia* recounted in the *Argonautica* (there are nearly eighty of them according to Valverde Sánchez' survey).[23] It should therefore not be in doubt that Apollonius draws on Callimachus throughout and, as far as we can see, on all four books of the *Aitia*,[24] as well as on *Hekale, Iamb.* 8 and *Ap.*, and probably on his hymnic poetry as a whole.[25]

Of particular interest is in this respect Apollonius' elliptic handling of the antecedents of the Herakles-Hylas relationship (*Arg.* 1.1212–20: "Theiodamas"). Apollonius' version is not wholly intelligible unless the reader is familiar with the Callimachean models; cf. already Faerber's comment (1932)[26] "die ganze Art der Darstellung ist nur zu erklären durch das Vorhandensein eines Vorgängers, eben Call., dessen Behandlung in den Αἴτια (sc. F 7 Pf.[1] = Pfeiffer [1949–51] vol. I, fr. 24) uns nun kenntlich ist", and see my analysis[27] and that of Clauss.[28]

Recent attempts to argue for mutual influence, and, partly, reverse the chronological sequence[29] are not supported by the evidence.

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[23] Valverde Sánchez (1989).

[24] Not only in books 1 and 2 as is sometimes assumed, cf., e.g., Albis (1996) 124–9.

[25] Cf. below n. 29.

[26] Faerber (1932) 94.

[27] Köhnken (1965) 46–56, esp. 51–4 (Apollonius combines three Callimachean versions of the Herakles – Theiodamas/peasant encounters). For the contamination of the story of Herakles and Theiodamas with the similar one of Herakles and the Lindian peasant, both told in Call. *Aitia* 1 (fr. 22–3 and 24–5 Pf.), see also Ammian. Marc. 22.12.4 and Philostr. *Imag.* 2.24 (where Theiodamas is called a Lindian).

[28] Clauss (1993) 189–90 (Clauss is unaware of my analysis); cf. Harder (1993) 108.

[29] See Hopkinson's hypothesis (1988) 7; cf., e.g., Sier (1993) 177–95, who tries to show that Call. *Del.*, esp. 121–33 alludes to *Arg.* 1.422–33. But Apollonius is far from drawing "eine 'typische Szene' im Stil des alten Epos": Sier's claim ([1993] 185) rests on dubious assertions, e.g. 185: "beide Helden äußern mit ähnlichen Worten ihre todesmutige Entschlossenheit", but the words are not very similar, and there is no "todesmutige Entschlossenheit" in Jason's case; or 186 "schicksalhafte Notwendigkeit", "in sententiös-generalisierender Form", but there is no "sententiöse Form" in Apollonius: Sier's change of *Arg.* 3.430 ἐπικείσετ' to ἐπίκειται is unfounded; see Vian, tome II (1980) 68 (text and translation) and 124 on 3.431; see also Livrea (1982) 18–24, esp. 20 on 3.429 ff.; Bulloch (1977) 97–123 shows in the body of his article that Apollonius in books 2 and 4 alludes to Call. *Cer.* (see esp. 103 f., 106,

There is no good reason to question Pfeiffer's conclusion of 1951: "... nunc id (de quo nemo umquam dubitare debuit) constat Apollonium Rhodium non solum Hecalam, sed etiam Aetia passim imitatum esse ... nunc manifestum esse vidimus Apollonium Aetiorum locos iterum atque iterum in usum suum convertisse".[30]

2.2. *Callimachus and Theocritus*

In 1941 Schlatter in his Zurich dissertation on *Theokrit und Kallimachos* came to the conclusion that "in den Werken der beiden Dichter (sich) Stellen (finden), die als Anspielungen auf Verse oder Motive, die sich beim anderen finden, erklärt werden müssen. Dabei ist nicht etwa der eine mehr der gebende Teil, der andere der empfangende ...".[31] This seems to be the prevailing view still today, see, e.g., Hunter in his 1999 commentary on Theocritus:[32] "Callimachus and Theocritus may each allude to the other in different poems." What is the evidence for such a mutual influence? Hunter[33] lists five passages of which two (Call. *Epigr.* 46 and 22) "very likely" or "possibly", respectively, show the influence of Theocritus on Callimachus, and the other three (Theoc. *Id.* 17 and Call. *Del.; Id.* 26.30 and Call. *Del.* 98; *Id.* 22.116 f. and Call. *Dian.* 186) are more or less certain "intertextual links" with no definite chronological implications.[34]

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and 116–21). Far less convincing, however, is his appended note, 121–3, on Call. *Lav.Pall.* 103–4 (τὸ μὲν οὐ παλινάγρετον ... αὖθι γένοιτο/ἔργον) and *Arg.* 2.444–5 (τὸ μὲν οὐ παλινάγρετον) where he argues for the reverse relation. But a negative-plus-adjective compound bridging the main caesura is extremely rare in both poets (Bulloch quotes one instance from Callimachus and two from Apollonius), and too small a basis for chronological conclusions. Considering phrasing and context it seems to me more likely that Apollonius has made explicit what is implicit in Callimachus (see the explanation added in *Arg.* 2.445; τό is "article" only in Call. *Lav.Pall.* 103, but demonstrative in *Arg.*, 2.244). Cf. Haslam's timely reminder in his article on "Callimachus' Hymns" (1993) 111–25, 115: "It is recognized that the transmitted order of the *Hymns* is probably Call.'s own, and I see the sextet as scarcely less of a single entity than the *Iambs* or the *Aitia* ... whether they were written as a group is of course another matter, but I think, we're entitled to read them so ...".

[30] Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, XLI and XLII, cf., e.g., Hollis (1990) 26, whose commentary is based on the "belief that *Hecale* ... predates all four books of the *Argonautica* ...".

[31] Schlatter (1941) 14.

[32] Hunter (1999) 2 f.; cf., e.g., Hutchinson (1988) 197 f.; see also Hollis (1990) 26 who believes "that *Hecale* ... predates ... Theocritus' *Idylls*", but adds: "in several cases the chronological relationship could be reversed by further ... evidence."

[33] *Ibid.* n. 8.

[34] Others have been less cautious: see, e.g., Griffiths (1977–78) 95–100 who, in

It would appear from this that there is no clear intertextual evidence of Theocritus alluding to Callimachus as against one or two clear cases of Callimachus referring to Theocritus.

The first of these (*Epigr.* 46 Pf.) is most illuminating for Callimachus' method of alluding to his model:

Ὡς ἀγαθὰν Πολύφαμος ἀνεύρατο τὰν ἐπαοιδάν
  τὠραμένῳ· ναὶ Γᾶν, οὐκ ἀμαθὴς ὁ Κύκλωψ.
αἱ Μοῖσαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατισχναίνοντι, Φίλιππε·
  ἦ πανακὲς πάντων φάρμακον ἁ σοφία.
τοῦτο, δοκέω, χὰ λιμὸς ἔχει μόνον ἐς τὰ πονηρά
  τὠγαθόν· ἐκκόπτει τὰν φιλόπαιδα νόσον.
ἔσθ' ἁμὶν †χ' ακαστας ἀφειδέα ποττὸν Ἔρωτα
  τοῦτ' εἶπαι· "κείρευ τὰ πτερά, παιδάριον,
οὐδ' ὅσον ἀττάραγόν τυ δεδοίκαμες· αἱ γὰρ ἐπῳδαί
  οἴκοι τῶ χαλεπῶ τραύματος ἀμφότεραι.

What an excellent charm Polyphemos found
  for the lover: by Earth, the Cyclops was no fool:
Love is cut to size by the Muses, Philippus:
  Indeed poetry is a universal remedy for everything.
Hunger, too, I believe, has only this advantage in grievous circumstances:
  it does away with the disease of love for boys:
We are able simply <?> to say this to reckless Eros:
  cut your wings, child:
We do not fear you a bit, for we have got at home
  both charms for this painful affliction.[35]

It is clear from lines 1–4 of this text that Callimachus alludes to a well known version of the Polyphemos love story which he assumes his readers to be thoroughly familiar with:[36] the object of Polyphemos' love (Galatea) is not even mentioned and his discovery of the love-philtre (1 f. ἀνεύρατο τὰν ἐπαοιδάν/τὠραμένῳ: note the definite articles) is taken for granted (as is the role of the Muses, 3 f.). Scholars generally, and rightly, agree that Callimachus' poem has to be read against the backdrop of Theocritus' *Cyclops* (*Id.* 11), where Polyphemos and Galatea are formally introduced, the antecedents and "seriousness" of his love for her explained, and the Muses presented as the only efficient φάρμακον. This is exactly what is needed for a full understanding of Callimachus' epigram.[37]

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a highly speculative article, tries to show that Call. *Del.* (and *Jov.*) antedate Theoc. *Id.* 17.

[35] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.

[36] Cf. Schlatter (1941) 19–25, esp. 23 ff.

[37] See also the significant medical analogies and terminology common to Theocritus

An analysis of the second epigram (*Epigr.* 22 Pf.) yields similar results:

> Ἀστακίδην τὸν Κρῆτα, τὸν αἰπόλον, ἥρπασε Νύμφη
> ἐξ ὄρεος, καὶ νῦν ἱερὸς Ἀστακίδης.
> οὐκέτι Δικταίῃσιν ὑπὸ δρυσίν, οὐκέτι Δάφνιν
> ποιμένες, Ἀστακίδην δ' αἰὲν ἀεισόμεθα.

> Astakides, the Cretan, the goatherd, was carried off by a nymph
> from the mountain, and now Astakides is divine.
> No more, shepherds, no more shall we sing of Daphnis beneath the
> oak trees of Dikte, of Astakides instead, we shall sing for ever.

The epigram presupposes the reader's familiarity with the "song of Daphnis" which is the theme of Theocritus' first *Idyll.* The song in honour of the Sicilian "cowherd" Daphnis (origin and status of Daphnis, line 3, are taken for granted) is to be replaced for good by a song in honour of the newly consecrated Cretan goatherd Astakides (3 f.: οὐκέτι Δάφνιν . . . Ἀστακίδην δ' αἰὲν ἀεισόμεθα). To see the point of the address to the ποιμένες in the second distichon (line 4) the reader needs to know that in Theoc. *Id.* 1 it is a ποιμήν from Sicily who sings the song of τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα (Θύρσις ὅδ' ὡξ Αἴτνας 65, cf. the address to him, 7 ὦ ποιμήν). Henceforth, Callimachus suggests in his playful epigram, all *Cretan* ποιμένες should make Astakides their theme since they now have a herdsman hero of their own. The first distichon lists the "facts" on which the recommended replacement rests: Ἀστακίδην τὸν Κρῆτα, τὸν αἰπόλον ἥρπασε νύμφη (1): the emphatic pronouncement τὸν Κρῆτα τὸν αἰπόλον (note the articles and the caesurae) implies a contrast with Daphnis, "the Sicilian", "the cowherd". Why an αἰπόλος? one might ask. Because the goatherd is the natural partner or rival of the cowherd and the shepherd in Theocritus' bucolic poetry: in *Id.* 1 an anonymous "goatherd" (1 αἰπόλε, 12 αἰπόλε etc.) asks the "shepherd" Thyrsis (7 ὦ ποιμήν, 15 ὦ ποιμήν etc.) to entertain him with his famous song of "the pains of Daphnis", the "cowherd" (19, cf. 116 ὁ βουκόλος . . . Δάφνις), and in *Id.* 7, the other programmatic poem in Theocritus' bucolics, we have Simichidas "the cowherd" (92 βουκολέοντα) enter-

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and Callimachus (*Id.* 11.1–6; cf. 15–7, and 80 f. ~ Call. *epigr.* 46.1 τὰν ἐπαοιδάν, cf. 9f. ἐπῳδαί, τραύματος; 3 κατισχναίνοντι, 4 πανακές . . . φάρμακον, which, as far as we can see, are alien to Philoxenus' lost dithyramb *Cyclops* referred to in our *scholia*, cf. *sch.* Theoc. *id.* 11.1–3b Wendel; cf. Hutchinson (1988) 197 f.

ing into a *boukoliasmos* with Lykidas, the "goatherd" (13 f. ἧς δ' αἰπόλος... αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ' ἐῴκει). Thus Callimachus in his epigram pointedly replaces the Theocritean cowherd from Sicily by his own goatherd from Crete (cf. *Id.* 1.86 Priapos to Daphnis: βούτας μὲν ἐλέγευ, νῦν δ' αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας, which may have suggested the idea of replacement to Callimachus), and in his final address to the "shepherds" adds the third of Theocritus' three categories (for these see, e.g., *Id.* 1.80 ἦνθον τοὶ βοῦται, τοὶ ποιμένες, ᾡπόλοι ἦνθον). That Astakides "was carried off by a nymph" (*Epigr.* 22.1 f. ἥρπασε Νύμφη/ ἐξ ὄρεος) may have been prompted by a Theocritean problem: what is the reason for Daphnis' mysterious death in *Id.* 1?[38]

Finally, Pfeiffer has drawn attention to the *anaphora bucolica* in line 3 of Callimachus' epigram (οὐκέτι... οὐκέτι Δάφνιν).[39] This clinches the matter: *Epigr.* 22 is a witty intertextual play on Theocritus' bucolics (esp. *Id.* 1). It should be accepted as certain evidence of Callimachus' indebtedness to Theocritus.

2.3. *Theocritus and Apollonius*

Hunter offers the following comment on Theocritus *Id.* 13.16–24: "These lines take the Argonautic expedition all the way to the Phasis, i.e. they offer one Theocritean sentence to match the whole of *Arg.* 1–2. The remainder of the poem offers a slightly more leisurely version of *Arg.* 1, but also brings us at the end to the Phasis, i.e. it elides the whole of *Arg.* 2... In view of this structure the similarity of (line) 16 to *Arg.* 1.4 χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ, is unlikely to be coincidence; T. thus marks the beginning of the

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[38] *Id.* 1.82; 130; 139–41; cf. the speculations of the *sch.* Theoc. *id.* 1.65–6e, f.; 141b. See now Hunter (1999) 63 ff. Cf. the abduction of Hylas by the nymphs in *Id.* 13.43 ff.

[39] Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. II, 86 on *Epigr.* 22.3; cf. his note on fr. 27.1 ἄρνες... ἄρνες ἑταῖροι: "in anaphora post diaeresin bucolicam 'pastorale' quiddam inest"; (1949–51) vol. I, 36, referring to Theoc. *Id.* 1.64 etc. ἄρχετε... ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς; cf., e.g., *Id.* 1.15 οὐ θέμις... οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν or 66 πᾷ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ'... πᾷ ποκα, Νύμφαι; see also Call. *Epigr.* 22.1 f. Ἀστακίδην... Ἀστακίδης and Theoc. *Id.* 1.1 f. ἁδύ τι... ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τύ. Hutchinson's objection (1988) 198 n. 94: "in fr. 27.1 ... the anaphora stresses the *aition*, and hence has a very un-Theocritean ring", seems to me misleading: ἄρνες... ἄρνες, followed by αὔλια καὶ βοτάναι is, if anything, "pastoral". On the Astakides-epigram cf. also Bing (1995) 129 f. and Larson (1997) 131–7, esp. 133 and 135–7 (on possible implications of the name "Astakides").

'epic' narrative".[40] However, while it is no doubt correct to stress the similarity between *Id.* 13.16–7 ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων/Αἰσονίδας and *Arg.* 1.4 (see above) and to exclude coincidence, the chronological implications suggested by Hunter are far from certain (and his claim that Theocritus "elides the whole of *Arg.* 2" seems to me arbitrary).

First, there is one significant difference in the wording of the two phrases: in Theocritus Jason is the subject of the sentence; he is, in accordance with the tradition since Homer,[41] the head of the expedition, the other Argonauts being his helpers (17–8 οἱ δ' αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο/πασᾶν ἐκ πολίων . . .).[42] In Apollonius, on the other hand, subject of the introductory phrase are "the Argonauts"; Jason's position here and elsewhere in the poem is much less prominent and his grip on the leadership is insecure from the beginning.[43] This is in striking contrast to the Argonaut tradition. Apollonius, unlike Theocritus, does not highlight "the adventures of Jason and his crew", as one would have expected on the basis of traditional accounts, but the exploits of "the crew" as a group (Jason himself getting a markedly low-key treatment).[44]

Secondly, it is difficult to see how Theoc. *Id.* 13.16–24 can be said "to match" (or even "rewrite", see above n. 40) *Arg.* 1–2: Theocritus tells us *that* Jason and the Argonauts, among them Herakles and Hylas, set out on the fine ship Argo, whose principal exploit was the successful journey to the Phasis after negotiating the Symplegades; Apollonius narrates *how* the Argonauts lost Herakles

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[40] Hunter (1999) 271; cf. his introduction to Theoc. *Id.* 13.262: "the high probability that, within the space of seventy-five lines, it (*Id.* 13) twice rewrites the first two books of the *Argonautica* gives it as good a claim as any Theocritean poem to be 'a little epic'". The evidence offered for this "probability" is scanty (see above).

[41] *Od.* 12.72; cf., e.g., Hes. *Th.* 992–9; Hdt. 7.193 λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων . . . εὖτε ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν . . .

[42] Cf. *Id.* 22.31 ἄνδρες ἔβαινον *Ἰησονίης ἀπὸ νηός*: the Argo is Jason's ship; he is the leader of the expedition.

[43] See, e.g., Schwinge (1986) 93 ff. (on Apollonius), esp. 95: "das Heldische Jasons wird von unendlich viel Unheldischem desavouiert, und es hat den Anschein, als sei das Heldische nur vorgeführt, damit das Unheldische in einem *Heldenepos* demonstriert werden könne"; 114: "Jason, der uneigentliche Führer, soll . . . generell an Herakles, dem eigentlichen Führer, gemessen werden". DeForest (1994) 34; cf. my paper on "Der Status Jasons" (2000).

[44] See my paper, previous note.

and Hylas on the first leg of their journey (book 1) and made their way through the Symplegades to the Phasis without Herakles (book 2). In Theocritus' poem Herakles, too, in the end manages to get to the Phasis (line 75), in Apollonius he is lost for good. Theocritus can hardly be said to offer "one . . . sentence to match the whole of *Arg.* 1–2".[45] Moreover, there were, as far as we know, basically two pre-Hellenistic traditions concerning the participation of Herakles in the Argonautic expedition: one in which he reaches Kolchis along with the other Argonauts (Pi. *P.* 4.170–213)[46] and another in which he is left behind at an early stage (*Argus Aphetai* according to Hdt. 7.193.2). Theocritus adopts elements from both traditions but in the end opts for the first one: Herakles eventually makes it to Kolchis (line 75); Apollonius mainly follows the Herodotean tradition: Herakles is left behind (in Kios).

Gow's claim, followed by other scholars, that "according to the usual accounts (including that of Apollonius . . .) Heracles did not reach Phasis at all"[47] is therefore misleading. In fact, Theocritus, as far as the status of Jason and Herakles is concerned, seems to be closer to the mainstream of the Argonautic tradition than Apollonius.[48]

Thirdly, I would object to the statement that Theocritus by referring (in *Id.* 13.16) to *Arg.* 1.4 "marks the beginning of the 'epic' narrative". Hunter himself has acknowledged elsewhere[49] that both Theocritus and Apollonius frequently draw on Pindar's "lyrical" narrative (Pi. *P.* 4.67–262, cf. 9–58). Theocritus, *Id.* 13.16–24 is a case in question: 13.16 (as well as *Arg.* 1.4) may easily refer to Pi. *P.* 4.68 f. (τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ· μετὰ γὰρ/κεῖνο πλευσάντων Μινυᾶν . . .) or some such sentence from the Argonaut tradition (see, e.g., Hdt.

[45] See also Hunter's remark on Theoc. *Id.* 13.18 ([1999] 271): "In one verse T. 'covers' (and dismisses) the whole Apollonian catalogue": the implication is unjustified because a catalogue of Argonauts would be out of place in Theocritus' poem, the subject of which is Herakles' love for Hylas.

[46] Cf. the iconographic evidence *LIMC* s.v. Argonautai (Blatter), 596, no. 21 (cf. 20); cf., e.g., Radermacher (1968) 169 (with pl. 8, 158) ca. 356 B.C.: Argonauts, including Herakles, supporting Jason in his fight against the serpent.

[47] (1952) 245 on Theoc. *Id.* 13.75.

[48] See my "Paradoxien in Theokrits Hylasgedicht" (1996a) 456–62; cf. my paper on "Der Status Jasons" (2000) 4 f.

[49] Hunter (1993a) 60 and 124 f. (Pindar's influence on Apollonius), and (1996) e.g. 15–8 (on Theocritus, more reluctantly); see also (1999) 262 (on *Id.* 13), cf. 165 f. (on *Id.* 7.47–8) and 272–4 (on *Id.* 13).

7.193.2 εὖτε ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν), and the whole passage is clearly influenced by Pi. *P.* 4.202–13.[50] There is no need to assume an "epic" backdrop to the Theocritean sentence.

The position of Theoc. *Id.* 13.16 ff. and *Arg.* 1.4 within the tradition, therefore (*pace* Hunter), strongly favours the priority of Theocritus' *Idyll* over the *Argonautica* of Apollonius.

A similar observation can be made with regard to the two versions of the Amykos story in *Id.* 22 and *Arg.* 2. Here again the outlines of Theocritus' narrative essentially agree with what we know about the pre-Hellenistic tradition of the boxing-match between Amykos and Polydeukes (Amykos is a comic character and the outcome of the match peaceful),[51] whereas Apollonius introduces radical changes (the event is a serious one: Amykos is a dangerous brute, and he is eventually killed).[52]

In addition, it seems to me worth pointing out that Theocritus has chosen as subjects of his two Argonaut poems exactly those three heroes with whom Pindar opens his catalogue of Argonauts (Pi. *P.* 4.171 f.: τάχα δὲ Κρονίδαο Ζηνὸς υἱοὶ τρεῖς ἀκαμαντομάχαι/ἦλθον Ἀλκμήνας θ'... Λήδας τε...), i.e. Herakles (*Id.* 13) and the twins Kastor and Polydeukes (*Id.* 22). This again shows how close Theocritus keeps to the Pindaric tradition.[53]

As regards the evaluation of related details in the Hylas narratives, I single out two topics which have been prominent in recent discussions, the position of the two stories in the work of Apollonius

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[50] Pindar and Herodotus are also neglected by Sens (1997) 26 f.

[51] Cf. the iconographic evidence, *LIMC* s.v. Amykos (Beckel) 738–42 (pl. I 2, 594–7) covering the period from ca. 420 B.C. through the beginning of 3rd century B.C.: the defeated Amykos is always spared (mostly bound to a tree), as in Theocritus, never killed (as in Apollonius).

[52] See Köhnken (1965) 89–93; but cf., e.g., the two recent commentaries of Cuypers (1997) and Sens (1997), both advocating the priority of Apollonius. Sens, however, (Introduction 24–38) has considerable reservations of his own (e.g. 25 n. 51; 26; 27, and 30–1), and Cuypers ([1997] 13–28) who at the outset writes (13) "if decisive arguments had been available, they would have surfaced by now" has, to my mind, too often recourse to aesthetic arguments (e.g. 19 and 21 "more satisfactory"; 22 "artistically more satisfactory"; 23 "the more pleasing option").

[53] Contrast the catalogue of Argonauts in Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.23–238, which begins with Orpheus, lists Herakles in the centre, 1.122–32, and has the twin sons of Leda still further on, 1.146–50. Hunter's argument (1996) 61 that "the 'sightseeing' stroll", in *Id.* 22, "which the sons of Zeus take... is strikingly like the task of Heracles, another υἱὸς Διός (*Arg.* 1.1188)...", leaves the juxtaposition of the three υἱοὶ Διός in Pi. *P.* 4.171 f. out of consideration.

and Theocritus respectively, and the striking variations of an "epic" simile in both authors.[54]

(1) Dover in his 1971 commentary[55] acknowledges that "the chronological evidence ... might seem to tell in favour of the priority of Theocritus"; he also concedes that the comparison of details in the two narratives may point in the same direction, and that both authors may have had good, if different, reasons of their own for taking up obscure local legends like that of Hylas. He nevertheless concludes: "And yet ... here we have Theocritus telling a story about an incident in the voyage of the Argo through the Propontis into the Euxine, and in XXII we have him telling another such story. Both stories are told by Apollonius; *and stories of that region, naturally abundant in Apollonius, are notoriously rare elsewhere in Greek poetry.* Confronted with this fact, arguments for the priority of Theocritus based upon individual passages and motifs speak with a faint voice; and until we have fresh evidence, I adopt the view that both XIII and XXII were written on themes drawn by Theocritus from Apollonius".[56]

Dover seems to suggest that, because rare stories from the Propontis and the Pontos Euxinos are common and natural in Apollonius but unexpected in Theocritus, the latter must have got his Hylas and Amykos stories from the former. How much weight does this argument carry in view of the richness of the Argonaut tradition[57] and the notorious penchant of all Hellenistic poets for rare and recherché stories?[58]

Twenty-eight years after Dover, Hunter in his 1999 commentary[59] assessing the evidence slightly shifts the emphasis while sticking to Dover's conclusion:

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[54] For detailed analysis of the narratives in Theocritus and Apollonius see my book (1965); against: Serrao (1965) 541–65, esp. 553 ff. (written without knowledge of my book, see his addendum, 565); Fuchs (1969), who, however, often replaces arguments by simple assertions, e.g. 36; 43 or 83; see also Williams (1991) 175–84 (with further references); cf. the commentaries of Cuypers (1997) and Sens (1997).

[55] Dover (1971) 179–81.

[56] Cf. his note on *Id.* 22.27–134 (1971) 240: "the question of priority between Apollonius and Theocritus is even harder to determine on internal grounds in this case than in the case of XIII ...".

[57] Cf., e.g., *sch. Arg.* 1.1289–91a, 116 Wendel; Cameron (1995) 427: nine versions, about most of which we know very little; cf. Hunter (1999) 263 f.

[58] See above all Callimachus, whose *Aitia*, along with a host of other obscure local stories, contains a scattered number of rare items from the Argonaut tradition, which also left their impact on Apollonius, cf. above 77–79 "Callimachus and Apollonius", see also Cameron (1995) 430 f. quoted below.

[59] Hunter (1999) 265, see also Hunter (1996a) 59–63.

Theocritus' "handling of two Argonautic—and otherwise rather arcane—narratives which are contiguous in Apollonius" (sc. closing the first and beginning the second book of the *Argonautica*), "and in such a way that the two Idylls must be read together and indeed 'follow' each other to form a kind of narrative . . . makes it more likely that T. knew, and wrote for an audience who knew, some form of *Arg.* 1 and 2, rather than vice versa".

Hunter's reasoning rests on two different assumptions:

(1) It is easier to imagine that Theocritus took over two contiguous stories from Apollonius than that Apollonius drew on and interpreted two separate narratives in Theocritus;

(2) since the two separate *Idylls* in Theocritus (13 and 22) "must be read together" so as "to form a kind of" continuous "narrative", it is likely that Theocritus wrote them against the backdrop of Apollonius, *Argonautica* 1 and 2.

Against the first of these assumptions strong objections had already been raised by Cameron.[60] Having stressed that "it is Apollonius who innovates, by making Amycus . . . a more serious threat . . .",[61] he writes: "Apollonius drew two of his episodes from Callimachus, the Anaphe story from *Aitia* I and the Hydrophoria story from the *Iambi*:[62] Those two episodes close the *Argonautica*, appearing consecutively together at the end of book IV. The obvious interpretation of their juxtaposition . . . is that Apollonius was thus underlining his debt to the older poet, his teacher. Surely the same explanation applies to the juxtaposition of the two stories from Theocritus. It was Theocritus who wrote first".

This interpretation also explains the striking relocation of the Amykos-Polydeukes encounter. Apollonius has shifted it from its more natural position in Theocritus (*Id.* 22.27–9), where the Argo reaches Bebrykia on the south shore of the Pontos *after* the escape from the Clashing Rocks, to a position in the Propontis *prior* to the passage of the Clashing Rocks and next to Kios, the scene of the Hylas-Herakles story. Apollonius himself calls the reader's attention to this change by stressing that the Bebrykians had left their main territory, adjacent to that of the Mariandynoi (in the Pontos region), to meet the Argonauts, cf. *Arg.* 2.140 f. and 752 ff.[63]

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[60] Cameron (1995) 430 f.

[61] Cf. above 86 with n. 51 and 52.

[62] Cf. above "Callimachus and Apollonius", 78 f.

[63] See Vian, tome I (1974a) 132 f.

As to Hunter's second assumption, we have to keep in mind that we do not know in which order Theocritus' contemporaries read his poems (the order of the *Idylls* usually followed in modern editions is not likely to be the original one),[64] or whether Theocritus himself published one or more collections of his poetry and, if so, whether he put the poems in a specific order.[65] We do observe, however, that there are striking cross-references within the *corpus Theocriteum*, not only between *Id.* 13 and 22 (as rightly stressed by Hunter) but also, e.g., between *Id.* 6 and 11,[66] or 1 and 5.[67] Thus, it may well be that in an original collection Theocritus had arranged the "Hylas epyllion", *Id.* 13, and the "Hymn to the Dioskouroi", *Id.* 22, in such a way as to invite comparison between two pieces which belong to different genres and serve different purposes.

In view of these facts and possibilities it is hard to see how the intertextual relation between the two *Idylls* and their position in the *corpus Theocriteum*, which are part of a wider problem, can be used as an argument for the priority of Apollonius. In view of Apollonius' technique of placing side by side in the *Argonautica* Argonautic material from quite different Callimachean contexts, it is much more likely that he linked Argonautic stories from different poems of Theocritus.

(2) Of the many related details in the Hylas narratives of the two poets, it is the similes that have attracted particular attention in recent discussions of chronological priority. There are two similes in Theocritus' poem (*Id.* 13.48–52: Hylas falling into the spring compared to a comet; *Id.* 13.62–5: Heracles searching for Hylas compared to a hungry lion, i.e. one simile for each of the two, Hylas and Herakles, stages of the narrative), and two in Apollonius' story (*Arg.* 1.1243–9: Polyphemos running after the cry of Hylas compared to a roaring lion burning with hunger; *Arg.* 1.1265–72: Herakles shouting for Hylas compared to a roaring bull, i.e. each of the similes illustrating one of the two, Polyphemos and Herakles, stages of the Hylas search). Scholars as a rule focused on the two lion similes and tried to establish their relationship to the Homeric models and to each other in order to solve the chronological problem. The results, however, have on the whole been unsatisfactory and often contradictory, because until recently scholars generally tried to detect

[64] Cf., e.g., Gutzwiller (1996) 119–48.
[65] See my survey in (1998) 238–41 ("Gedichtsammlung").
[66] See my paper "Theokrits Polyphemgedichte" (1996b) 171–86.
[67] Cf., e.g., Stanzel (1996) 205–25, esp. 213–7.

deficiencies in either Apollonius' or Theocritus' similes and drew their conclusions accordingly. Only now a consensus seems to emerge that the similes of both poets should be accepted as unobjectionable in themselves.[68] However if this is the case, the priority of Theocritus is again much more likely than that of Apollonius (as I tried to show elsewhere).[69] For my present purposes I select one significant detail, the motif of the "prey, or meal, close at hand" (*Id.* 13.63 ἑτοιμοτάτα δαίς: protasis of the lion-simile; *Arg.* 1.1252 ληὶς ἑτοίμη: narrative). Has Theocritus transferred the motif of the "prey" from the narrative proper to the simile, or Apollonius from the simile to the narrative?

Hunter, who has no comment on ἑτοιμοτάτα/ἑτοίμη, claims that Theocritus "has rewritten both of Apollonius' similes" (sc. *Arg.* 1.1243–9 and 1265–72): "the lion simile becomes the experimental paratactic simile of (*Id.* 13) 62–3, and the bull simile is incorporated into the narrative" (sc. *Id.* 13.64 f.)[70] There is nothing in our text or in Hunter's commentary to support this assertion or make it more plausible than the reverse, viz. "Apollonius has replaced Theocritus' lion simile by two similar ones of his own (the lion and the bull simile), one for each of the two protagonists in the two phases of his story" (Polyphemos and Herakles as against Theocritus' Herakles).

If, however, we focus on the motif of the "easy prey" in both narratives, we seem to be on more solid ground. Whereas in Theocritus the motif is used once to illustrate the lion's intention to which that of Herakles is ironically compared,[71] in Apollonius it is part of a twofold reflection of Polyphemos which prompts him to draw his sword and rush off (*Arg.* 1.1251 f.): "Has Hylas perhaps become the prey of wild beasts or has he, being alone, been waylaid and carried off by hijackers who now drag him along as an easy prey?" Strikingly, the "prey" is referred to not once but twice in two synonymous expressions (first 1.1251 θήρεσσιν ἕλωρ, corresponding to the lion's prey in Theocritus, and secondly 1.1252 ληίδ' ἑτοίμην, a close verbal equivalent of Theocritus' ἑτοιμοτάταν . . . δαῖτα, *Id.* 13.63).

Differently from Theocritus, however, the attribute (ἑτοίμην) is not associated with the first alternative ("wild beasts") but with the

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[68] See, e.g., Hutchinson (1988) 192, cf. next note.
[69] See Köhnken (1996a) 446–55.
[70] Hunter (1999) 285.
[71] For the striking incongruity of protasis and apodosis see Köhnken (1996a) 449 ff.

second one ("hijackers"). Thus it looks as if Apollonius, while alluding in general terms to Theocritus' simile ("ready meal or prey for a lion" becomes "prey for wild beasts"), has pointedly transferred the attribute to a new context (Theocritus' "ready meal for a lion" becomes in Apollonius an "easy prey for hijackers").

This impression is confirmed when one realizes that Apollonius has varied the alternatives (*Arg.* 1.1251 f. "beasts" or "hijackers") for a second time, *Arg.* 1.1259 f., in Polyphemos' report to Herakles given in direct speech. This time, however, Polyphemos' original fear has become a certainty: "Hylas will not return safe and sound: hijackers waylaid him and are carrying him off, or wild beasts are hurting him". What is only expected to happen to the fawn in Theocritus' simile ("the lion hurries off to catch an easy prey") is supposed to have already happened to Hylas in Apollonius (Polyphemos' first alternative: 1.1251 θήρεσσιν ἕλωρ πέλεν ~ 1.1260 θῆρες σίνονται). In Theocritus the dramatic superlative ἑτοιμοτάταν (δαῖτα) is proleptic (the lion has all but caught his prey), whereas in Apollonius the positive ἑτοίμην (ληίδα) is conclusive (Polyphemos' second alternative: 1.1251 f. ~ 1.1259: hijackers have already caught Hylas and are now carrying him off as an easy prey).

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Apollonius has not only adopted the action of the Theocritean simile to his own purposes (in *Arg.* 1.1243 ἠύτε τις θήρ) but also transferred it to the narrative, and expanded it (θῆρες, supplemented by ληιστῆρες), thereby giving a further twist to the idea of easy prey: Hylas (Polyphemos suspects) may have been an "easy prey" for hijackers "because he was alone" (*Arg.* 1.1252: μοῦνον ἐόντ' ἐλόχησαν, ἄγουσι δὲ ληίδ' ἑτοίμην).[72]

At the end of *Idyll* 13 Theocritus tells us that the Argonauts teased Herakles when he rejoined them in Kolchis for having had to walk the whole distance from Kios (*Id.* 13.73–5): "the heroes mockingly called Herakles ship-deserter (λιποναύτας, instead of Ἀργοναύτας) because he had abandoned the quick Argo and arrived at the Phasis on foot (πεζᾷ)".[73] Campbell[74] has pointed out that the etymological

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[72] See further Köhnken (1996a) 453–5, for the relationship of both poets to Homeric precedents, and 454–5 for the acoustic signals (cries of Herakles, Polyphemos, and Hylas) in both versions.

[73] For the πεζᾷ motif (probably an allusion to Epicharm) see Köhnken (1996a) 459 f.; for λιποναύτας/Ἀργοναύτας see Campbell (1990) 118.

[74] Campbell (1990) 119.

wordplay in Theoc. *Id.* 13.73–4 *Ἡρακλέην δ' ἥρωες ἐκερτόμεον λιποναύταν,/οὕνεκεν ἠρώησε*... Ἀργώ is closely related to a similar one in Apollonius, *Arg.* 2.766–7 (Jason reporting to Lykos, king of the Mariandynoi, the past adventures of the Argonauts): ὡς ἀφίκοντο Κίον..., ὅθι κάλλιπον *ἥρω/Ἡρακλέην* ἀέκοντι νόῳ.... Campbell also called attention to the form Ἡρακλέην used in both passages, "an extremely rare accusative". Campbell argued for the priority of Apollonius, but if one follows up his observation it emerges that there are three different forms of the accusative of "Herakles" in the whole of Theocritus' poetry (-ῆα [five times], -έα and -έην [once each]) and that in *Id.* 13 he uses both -ῆα (13.70) and -έην (13.73; cf. the other Herakles-poem *Id.* 24, where the accusative -έα occurs in 24.1, and that of -ῆα in 16; 54; 134) whereas Apollonius consistently uses the epic accusative Ἡρακλῆα (six out of seven instances: 1.1242, 1291, 1316; 2.146; 3, 1233, and 4.1477), the only exception being Ἡρακλέην in *Arg.* 2.767 (see above). Moreover, Theocritus is consistently inconsistent also in his employment of the other oblique cases of the name "Herakles" (he has long vowel forms of the genitive and dative alongside short vowel ones, Ἡρακλῆος and -έος, Ἡρακλῆι and -έι, see Rumpel (1879) s.v. Ἡρακλέης), whereas Apollonius uses the long vowel forms (Ἡρακλῆος, Ἡρακλῆι, Ἡρακλῆα) in twenty-two out of twenty-three cases, the only exception again being *Arg.* 2.767.[75]

Thus the rare accusative is inconspicuous in Theocritus *Id.* 13.73 and exceptional in Apollonius, *Arg.* 2.767. Given that one of the two passages is based upon the other, this result again shows Apollonius alluding to Theocritus.[76]

On balance, there is neither hard evidence for Theocritus or Callimachus drawing on Apollonius rather than vice versa, nor are there, I believe, compelling reasons for assuming mutual influence between Theocritus and Callimachus in a kind of "Alexandrian workshop".[77] Such evidence as there is only shows Callimachus alluding to Theocritus.[78]

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[75] Hunter (1999) 287 on *Id.* 13.73 refers to my analysis but without comment.

[76] Cf. "Callimachus and Apollonius", above 77, with n. 17.

[77] Cf. Hopkinson (1988) 7: "Long poems such as the *Aetia* and *Argonautica* were probably recited as 'work in progress'", cf. Hunter (1999) 264.

[78] See above 80 ff.: "Callimachus and Theocritus".

THE POETICS OF NARRATIVE IN THE *ARGONAUTICA*

Richard Hunter

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For antiquity, the *Argonautica* was an "epic" (ἔπη, ἐποποιία, *epos*), just as the Homeric poems were. Apollonius himself marks his "generic status" in the opening verse through the phrase which designates the subject of his song, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν. In the *Odyssey*, Demodokos is inspired by the Muse to sing κλέα ἀνδρῶν (*Od.* 8.73), Achilles sings of κλέα ἀνδρῶν when withdrawn from the fighting itself (*Il.* 9.189),[1] and Phoenix tells Achilles that there have been "epic" parallels to his own situation (*Il.* 9.524–6):[2]

> οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν
> ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἵκοι·
> δωρητοί τε πέλοντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσιν.
>
> This is what we have heard in tales of the past heroes too, when furious anger came on one of them—they could be won by gifts and words' persuasion. (trans. M. Hammond)

The opening verse of the *Argonautica* therefore announces not, as in Homer, the subject of the poem, but rather its "genre". More specifically, Apollonius "begins from Apollo" as did Homer in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.8–9), thus aligning his poem with the most authoritative

[1] For Virgil's "translation" of κλέα ἀνδρῶν in the opening verse of the *Aeneid* cf. Conte (1985) 48–9 = (1986) 72–3. Horace's designation of epic poetry as *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella* (*AP* 73, cf. *Epist.* 2.1.251–2) gives a distinctively public and Roman tinge to the idea. It is sometimes asserted (e.g. Carspecken [1952] 111) that the substitution of φωτῶν for the Homeric ἀνδρῶν in this phrase marks the difference between "heroes" and "ordinary mortals", including women. Too much should not be made of this, particularly if the phrase bears some relationship to *h.Hom.* 32.18–9, cf. Hunter (1993a) 129 n. 110; the phrase may have been much more widespread in hymnic poetry than we can now establish. The debt to the *Homeric Hymn* cannot, however, be established purely on the basis of the prosody of κλέα, scanned as two shorts (cf. also 4.361). A form with long alpha is not certainly attested in early epic (cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 100, Wyatt [1969] 145).

[2] Cf. below 104. For some reservations about the use of the phrase in Homer cf. Ford (1992) 57–67.

of all epic texts, the *Iliad*.[3] Unlike Homer, however, Apollonius is able to fill in the background to his narrative without the explicit help of the Muse; the poet now takes responsibility for his poem, and the selective account of the background in 1.5–17, itself a reworking of the corresponding section of Pindar's *Fourth Pythian*,[4] is a virtuoso demonstration of the poet's freedom.[5] Moreover, the poet parades a refusal to repeat the story of Athena's building of the *Argo* because other poets have been there before (1.18–9); whatever Apollonius' poetic sources may in fact have been, novelty and freshness are here deployed as genuine virtues. Telemachos' admonition to his mother that men give the greatest praise to the newest song (*Od.* 1.351–2) is re-employed as Apollonius sites himself in a line of epic poets that includes not only Homer, but also Homer's bards, Phemios and Demodokos.[6]

This proclaimed freedom, however, distances the Apollonian design of epic from the primary model which Homer had depicted in his poems. In this model, the bard's narration is always an act of memory and repetition; "the poet" tells the story as it has been told to him by the Muse.[7] In the Hellenistic period this strategy was modified in various ways to meet the new conditions of a world in which knowledge of both past and present was now partly contained in books and poets were no longer the principal repositories of social memory and communal values. Changes in social structure, the successive attacks of the sophists, the views of Thucydides and Plato on the value and social authority of poetry, and the organisation and practice of scholarship in Alexandria all contributed to a profound (if gradual) shift in the perception of poetry's necessary relation to

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[3] For the recreation of the manner of rhapsodic performance here cf. Albis (1996) 19–20.

[4] Cf. Hunter (1993a) 123–4.

[5] For the invocation to the Muses in 1.22 cf. below 99 f.

[6] It is tempting to use *Od.* 1.351, the only occurrence of ἐπικλείειν in Homer, as an argument in favour of Brunck's ἐπικλείουσιν in 1.18 (cf. [Oppian] *C.* 3.78–9); certainly the Homeric context would be very meaningful within such a reworking. Even with Brunck's change, the allusion to *Od.* 1.338 (cf., e.g., Clauss [1993] 20–1) would be unaffected. Elsewhere in the *Argonautica*, however, the compound verb means "call, give a name" and at 3.553 "call upon", though I do not regard that as a decisive objection. Cf. further 1.59; Fränkel (1968) 39; Giangrande (1973a) 1.

[7] This is not intended to imply a particularly rigid view of the role of the Muses in Homer; for some of the positions which have been taken cf. De Jong (1987) 45–53. On the distinction between bards and other story-tellers in Homer cf. Scodel (1998) and, in general, Ford (1992).

"the real world". An anxiety and debate about the truth status of poetry and the fictionalising power of poets thus surfaces with ever-increasing persistence. One way of dealing with this changed situation is visible in Hellenistic didactic poetry, such as the *Phainomena* of Aratus which is in part a versification of the fourth-century prose *Phainomena* of the astronomer Eudoxos. As "truth" could now be stored in books and libraries, poets quite naturally looked there for the source of poetic material, as before they had relied upon "tradition" as transmitted by the Muses. Moreover, the collection of material within books changed the nature and conception of "tradition" itself. Although "innovation" in early narrative is often very difficult to establish,[8] it is clear that the poets themselves were principal creators and memorialisers of socially significant traditions. It is entirely in keeping with this pattern that the earliest Greek historians and ethnographers in prose often turned to the poets for their material; by the third century the situation was in part reversed. The preservation of stories in written form slowly lent them a more fixed form, or at least gave urgency to the issue of "fidelity" to a tradition, whether or not that "fidelity" was ever checked or called into question. The existence and use of written "sources" reconfigured the old Hesiodic question of truth and falsehood in poetry;[9] the very scholarly practice of source criticism, the ancient ancestor of modern *Quellenforschung*, confirmed a changed view of the way poetry worked.

Although "sideshadowing and awareness of alternatives and sequels were essential features of [epic] poetics" already in Homer,[10] the use of books reinforces an awareness of "competing" traditions. In the pre-Hellenistic situation, variant traditions do not necessarily compete with each other for authoritative status; the "authoritative" version is precisely that one which is told at any particular time for particular reasons of context. A poet such as Pindar may call attention to a tradition in order to reject it as "untrue" in favour of a different tradition better suited to a particular rhetorical context (cf., e.g., Pi. *O.* 1.28–53), but it is precisely the activating context which is decisive for this rejection. Collection in written form, however,

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[8] For Homer cf. Nagy (1996a) Ch. 4; Edmunds (1997) 415–41, both with fuller bibliography.

[9] For some guidelines for the archaic period cf. Pratt (1993); Bowie (1993) 1–37.

[10] Malkin (1998) 37.

and subsequent study and repetition outside such an activating context provides a shaped, decontextualised tradition independent of its exploitation in poetry (or any other medium). In the *Aitia* Callimachus dramatises this process of narrative variation through the naming of prose sources and the emphasis given to competing *aitia* (cf. frr. 5–9 Massimilla, 75, 79 Pf.). It may in fact be the case that the tendencies considered here are enhanced when aetiology is a, or the, prominent narrative trope,[11] for the aetiological imperative closes down some narrative options, and thereby privileges others, by dictating a *telos* towards which narrative must move. Apollonius himself displays both the (alleged) fixity of tradition and the existence of variants in a famous passage of the fourth book which is very likely indebted to Callimachus (4.982–92):[12]

> ἔστι δέ τις πορθμοῖο παροιτέρη Ἰονίοιο
> ἀμφιλαφὴς πίειρα Κεραυνίῃ εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσος,
> ᾗ ὕπο δὴ κεῖσθαι δρέπανον φάτις—ἵλατε, Μοῦσαι,
> οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος—ᾧ ἀπὸ πατρὸς
> μήδεα νηλειῶς ἔταμε Κρόνος·—οἱ δέ ἑ Δηοῦς
> κλείουσι χθονίης καλαμητόμον ἔμμεναι ἅρπην·
> Δηὼ γὰρ κείνῃ ἐνὶ δή ποτε νάσσατο γαίῃ
> Τιτῆνας δ' ἔδαεν στάχυν ὄμπνιον ἀμήσασθαι,
> Μάκριδα φιλαμένη—. Δρεπάνη τόθεν ἐκλήισται
> οὔνομα Φαιήκων ἱερὴ τροφός· ὧς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
> αἵματος Οὐρανίοιο γένος Φαίηκες ἔασι.

> At the head of the Ionian strait, set in the Keraunian sea, is a large and fertile island, where is buried, so the story goes (your gracious pardon, Muses! it is against my will that I relate a story told by men of earlier generations), the sickle with which Kronos pitilessly cut off his father's genitals. Others say that it is the reaping scythe of chthonian Demeter, for Demeter once took up residence in the land and, out of love for Makris, taught the Titans how to harvest the rich crop. From that time the sacred nurse of the Phaeacians has been named Drepane ["Sickle"], and so too the Phaeacians themselves are born from the blood of Ouranos.

The apparently ironic apology to the Muses and competing explanations for the name of the island call attention to several important issues of poetics.[13] The passage implies that poetic traditions are

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[11] For some important general considerations cf. Goldhill (1991) 321–33.

[12] Cf. Call. fr. 50 (= 43 Pf.). 69–71 Massimilla; Vian (^{2}1996) 35. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are by the author.

[13] Cf. further below 118 f.

(or should be) subject to considerations drawn from the rhetorical and scholastic category of τὸ πρέπον, "appropriateness, decorum", particularly in view of the fact that the Muses are decorous virgins. As Hermann Fränkel noted,[14] we might have expected the poet here to apologise to Ouranos, but in this place the Muses are to some extent separated from the subject of the narrative, the "literary tradition" itself, as "style" may be separated from "substance". The Muses who watch over the "style" of the whole poem may blush to hear a tale of castration, but it is the poet, not the Muses, who is responsible for telling the unpleasant *aition*. The giving of alternative *aitia* is in fact unusual in the *Argonautica*,[15] and it is tempting to see an implicit causal link between this instance and the poet's alleged distaste: alternative explanations, so the poet implies, may arise out of dissatisfaction (whether moral or aesthetic) with an existing *aition*. Whether we should go further and see Apollonius calling attention to the chronological priority of the "cruder" version (cf. προτέρων 4.985), i.e. recognising the fact that taste changes over time, is less certain. Be that as it may, the reflection upon his own practice here both has Homeric roots and veers away radically from the "discretion" of the Homeric narrator; such a pattern is very typical for the Hellenistic epic.

The poet's own responsibility is humorously acknowledged again when he comes on the return journey to Medea's rites in honour of Hekate on the Paphlagonian coast (4.247–52):

> καὶ δὴ τὰ μὲν ὅσσα θυηλὴν
> κούρη πορσανέουσα τιτύσκετο—μήτε τις ἴστωρ
> εἴη μήτ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν ἀείδειν—
> ἅζομαι αὐδῆσαι· τό γε μὴν ἕδος ἐξέτι κείνου,
> ὅ ῥα θεᾷ ἥρωες ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖσιν ἔδειμαν,
> ἀνδράσιν ὀψιγόνοισι μένει καὶ τῆμος ἰδέσθαι.

> All that was done as the maiden prepared the sacrifice—let no one know, may my heart not urge me to sing of it!—I forbear from telling. From that day, however, the shrine which the heroes built to the goddess on the shore stands still visible to later generations.

The poet's piety in drawing a veil over what must not be told (cf. 1.919–21) is expressed through an echo of Alkinoos' description of Demodokos (*Od.* 8.44–5):

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[14] Fränkel (1968) 550.
[15] Cf. 4.596–618 (the tears of the Heliades).

τῷ γάρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν
τέρπειν, ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν.

to him the god has granted the power above all others to give delight with his song, on whatever theme his spirit urges him to sing.

Although the importance of the poet's *thumos* belongs to the traditional language of rhapsodic performance,[16] the idea is here given a particular twist. In effect, the poet tells us in advance to blame his θυμός for anything untoward which he *might* sing; such a conceit seems to belong to Hellenistic constructions of the relationship between the poet and his model, far more than to archaic or classical predecessors. Very similar is Callimachus' interrupted *aition* for a Naxian wedding ritual (fr. 75.4–9 Pf.):

Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρὲ
 θυμέ, σύ γ' ἀείσῃ καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁσίη·
ὤναο κάρτ' ἕνεκ' οὔ τι θεῆς ἴδες ἱερὰ φρικτῆς,
 ἐξ ἂν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἤρυγες ἱστορίην.
ἦ πολυιδρείη χαλεπὸν κακόν, ὅστις ἀκαρτεῖ
 γλώσσης· ὡς ἐτεὸν παῖς ὅδε μαῦλιν ἔχει.

For they say that once upon a time Hera—dog, dog, hold off, shameless *thumos*, you would sing things which you are not sanctioned to sing. A lucky thing that you have not seen the rites of the dread goddess, since you would have vomited out their story also. Ah, much knowledge is a terrible burden for a man who cannot control his tongue: he really is a child with a knife.

The Hellenistic poet's *thumos* now has a mind of its own![17] Whereas Callimachus' *praeteritio* appeals to widely known ritual events, and therefore does not need to be told for the audience to experience the pleasure of knowledge, Apollonius rejects that strategy in favour of what might be called the "compensatory *aition*"; the permanent memorial which the Argonauts left behind acts both as the guarantor of the poet's faithfulness—"Medea really did perform secret rituals"—and as a substitute for the information which the poet witholds: "you will not learn anything from me, but you can go and see the place for yourselves". Above all, the poet's power to choose (unless his

[16] For another variant cf. Call. *Del.* 1 τὴν ἱερήν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον . . . ἀείσεις; The "reverse" of the idea appears not long afterwards, τί τοι θυμήρες ἀκοῦσαι; (29, addressed to Delos).

[17] For the history of this conceit and its fortune in Hellenistic poetry cf. Hunter (1996a) 182–4.

θυμός takes over) is strongly emphasised through the almost paradoxical implication that the poet would be able to tell of that of which "no one should be knowledgeable (ἴστωρ)".[18] Callimachus' paradox is differently fashioned: his lament for the burden of "much knowledge" follows immediately upon the statement that he does *not* know the ἱστορίη of the rites of Demeter. It is tempting to think that the two passages have some relation to each other.[19]

More than one pattern of poet-Muse relationship is in fact staged through the course of the four books. Thus at 4.552–6 and 4.1381 (see below) the Muses do indeed seem to embody "literary tradition".[20] Nevertheless, the distinctiveness of the construction I have been considering marks an important shift in poetic consciousness.

When asking the Muse to tell him the names of the Greek commanders at Troy and the numbers of ships which each brought, Homer apparently gives two related reasons why he would be unable to do this without them (*Il.* 2.484–93). First, the Muses are gods and therefore have true knowledge, whereas mortals only "hear reports" (κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν),[21] and secondly the task of such a catalogue is beyond the physical powers of a mortal acting without divine assistance. Before his Catalogue Apollonius too invokes the Muses, but the form of the invocation could hardly be more different (1.20–2):

> νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην
> ἡρώων δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλὸς ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
> πλαζόμενοι· Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.
>
> I now shall recount the lineage and names of the heroes, their voyages over the vast sea and all they achieved on their wanderings. May the Muses be the *hypophetores* of my song!

The precise meaning of the wish that the Muses be the ὑποφήτορες (? "inspirers", ? "transmitters") of the poet's song has been much disputed, and unanimity may never be reached; certain inferences

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[18] There is a certain temptation to understand this word as "researcher, enquirer" (cf. ἱστορίη) rather than "expert, knower"; one of the references would then be to the process of writing "learned" poetry—once one conceives the desire to write on a particular subject, the necessary research must be done.

[19] The description of Demeter as θεὴ φρικτή is noteworthy; it suits the Demeter of the mysteries perfectly (cf. Richardson on *h.Dem.* 478–9, R. Seaford, *Hermes* 122 [1994] 284–5), but out of context might easily suggest Hekate.

[20] For 2.845 cf. below 113.

[21] For this problematic phrase cf. De Jong (1987) 51–2.

may nevertheless be drawn.[22] No poetic success is possible without the Muses, not because they supply the information to the poet, i.e. (in the archaic model) are in fact the *real* singers who select the traditions which will constitute any particular performance,[23] but because poetry is their business, and the poet, though personally responsible for what he tells, must have their favour constantly in mind; no poem will ever reach an audience without the approval of the Muses. In one sense, then, the meaning of this wish is not far from the corresponding wish with which the poem closes (4.1773–6):

ἵλατ', ἀριστῆες, μακάρων γένος, αἵδε δ' ἀοιδαὶ
εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος γλυκερώτεραι εἶεν ἀείδειν
ἀνθρώποις. ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ' ἱκάνω
ὑμετέρων καμάτων κτλ.

Be gracious, heroes, children of the blessed gods, and may these songs be from year to year ever sweeter for men to sing. For now I have reached the glorious conclusion of your struggles . . .

The formal farewell to the heroes[24] asks their favour, lest they be offended either by anything the poet has said or because he is now going to stop (cf. 4.1775–7); the wish, however, for ever-increasing "sweetness" for his song is in essence a further wish for the Muses' continued favour.[25] Here too, then, a distinction between "subject" and "style", made possible by the new-found responsibility and freedom of the poet (cf. ἱκάνω), is suggested. A very close parallel to Apollonius' wish[26] is Callimachus' invocation to the Parian Graces which seems to have rounded off the opening sequence of the *Aitia* (fr. 9.13–14 Massimilla):

ἔλλατε νῦν, ἐλέγοισι δ' ἐνιψήσασθε λιπώσας
χεῖρας ἐμοῖς, ἵνα μοι πουλὺ μένωσιν ἔτος.

Come now, wipe your hands, rich with oil, upon my elegies, so that they last for many a year.

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[22] For some relevant considerations cf. Fusillo (1985) 365–6; Hunter (1993a) 125; Albis (1996) 20–1.

[23] Cf. Ford (1992) 72–82.

[24] For the implications of this style of address cf. Hunter (1993a) 127–8.

[25] Cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 96–7 on the man whom the Muses love, "sweet (γλυκερή) speech flows from his mouth".

[26] Cf. Harder (1993) 105.

Like the Muses, the Graces offer the sweetness of style which guarantees longevity to the poet's narrative.

One sequence which raises many of these issues within a short space is the epiphany of the Libyan heroines to Jason as the Argonauts despair in the trackless desert. The Libyan scenes follow immediately upon the episode in Drepane where the wedding-bed of Jason and Medea was strewn with the Golden Fleece itself so that the wedding would be τιμήεις καὶ ἀοίδιμος "an honoured subject of song". This hope for the future, itself ironised by our knowledge of the real future which lay in store for Jason and Medea, echoes the only occurrence of ἀοίδιμος in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, Helen's observation to Hector that the gods sent this evil fate upon Paris and herself so that they would be ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι, "subjects of song for men in the future".[27] If events on Drepane have indeed assured the return of the Argonauts to Greece and thus made possible what will be a story known to everyone, the Libyan sequence threatens to wipe that future out. Here, where there is hope neither of *nostos* (4.1235, 1273–6) nor of heroic action (4.1252–7), the complete absence of spatial orientation marks the potential failure of the aetiological epic of journeying and the dissolution of Argonautic "solidarity" (4.1305–7; cf. 4.1290–3):[28]

> καί νύ κεν αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ ζωῆς ἐλίασθεν
> νώνυμνοι καὶ ἄφαντοι ἐπιχθονίοισι δαῆναι
> ἡρώων οἱ ἄριστοι ἀνηνύστῳ ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ.
>
> There and then they would have all departed from life, the best of heroes with their task uncompleted, leaving no name or trace by which mortal men might know them.

In this poetics, the failure to "leave a trace" is as good as never having existed. So too, when Jason fails to understand the instructions delivered to him, as to a sick man in a dream, we are perilously close to a breakdown in the structures of epic as they were handed down from Homer, for epic dreams are normally followed by immediate action; that breakdown seems finally to arrive with the "failure" of the following extended simile (4.1337–44):

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[27] Cf. Goldhill (1991) 320. For this word cf. also Hunter (1999) on Theoc. *Id.* 13.9.

[28] Cf. Hunter (1993a) 126 and the essay of David Wray in Harder – Regtuit – Wakker (2000).

ἦ, καὶ ἀναΐξας ἑτάρους ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυτει
αὐσταλέος κονίῃσι, λέων ὥς, ὅς ῥά τ' ἀν' ὕλην
σύννομον ἣν μεθέπων ὠρύεται· αἱ δὲ βαρείῃ
φθογγῇ ὑποβρομέουσιν ἀν' οὔρεα τηλόθι βῆσσαι·
δείματι δ' ἄγραυλοί τε βόες μέγα πεφρίκασι
βουπελάται τε βοῶν. τοῖς δ' οὔ νύ τι γῆρυς ἐτύχθη
ῥιγεδανὴ ἑτάροιο φίλοις ἐπικεκλομένοιο·
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἠγερέθοντο κατηφέες.

With these words he sprang up and, filthy with dust, shouted over the wastes to his companions, like a lion which roars as it seeks its mate through the forest; at the sound of its deep voice the mountain-glades far away resound, and the cattle in the fields and the herdsmen of the cattle shudder with fright. But Jason's voice did not terrify the Argonauts, as it was a comrade calling to his friends. They all gathered round him, their heads lowered in despair.

The normal processes of epic are no longer working. They are restored, however, when Peleus is able to interpret correctly the appearance of the omen which the heroines had predicted;[29] the appearance of a fast and powerful horse marks the end of the Argonauts' ordeal in a nothingness without animal life (4.1240). Here now is the opportunity for truly "heroic" action (4.1375, 1383–4), for the Argonauts will have to carry the *Argo* on their backs. At this point, as at the opening of the fourth book and at the beginning of a new "itinerary" (4.552–6),[30] the poet resigns his usual authority in favour of the Muses (4.1381–4):

Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπακουὸς ἀείδω
Πιερίδων. καὶ τήνδε πανατρεκὲς ἔκλυον ὀμφήν,
ὑμέας, ὦ πέρι δὴ μέγα φέρτατοι υἷες ἀνάκτων,
ᾗ βίῃ, ᾗ ἀρετῇ Λιβύης ἀνὰ θῖνας ἐρήμους κτλ.

This tale is the Muses', I sing obedient to the daughters of Pieria. This report too I heard in all truth that you, much the greatest sons of kings, by your strength and by your courage through the sandy deserts of Libya . . .

Whereas, however, the cause of the poet's resignation at 4.1–5 was an alleged inability to choose an explanation for Medea's flight,[31]

[29] That Jason repeats the heroines' speech in indirect speech, whereas a Homeric character would have repeated the direct speech, is not so much a "failure" of epic structures, but rather a characteristic feature of Apollonian epic, cf. Hunter (1993a) 143–51.
[30] Cf. Fusillo (1985) 370–1.
[31] Cf. Hunter (1987) 134–8.

here, like the asyndetic exclamation ἦ βίη, ἦ ἀρετῇ, it is a rhetorical device designed to emphasise the extraordinary nature of what the Argonauts achieved: "I did not make this up, it is all in the tradition". The implication is that epic poetry is, to some degree at least, subject to the laws of τὸ εἰκός, "probability", and any breach of these laws requires justification. The poet has not required such justification before this, and whether the carrying of the *Argo* is any less an affront to τὸ εἰκός than any earlier event is at least debatable,[32] but here a moment of crisis, for both the narrative and epic itself, is signalled. In conclusion, then, the whole sequence of events in the Libyan desert may be seen as an extended exploration of the limits of epic.

In structural terms, the Libyan episode is marked as the equivalent of Odysseus' wanderings in the land of the imagination:[33] Odysseus is knocked off course by a north wind as he sails west around the bottom of the Peloponnese and is carried along for nine days (*Od.* 9.80–3); the Argonauts suffer a similar fate as they are sailing south-east and "the land of Pelops was just coming into view" (4.1231). This sense of replaying the *Odyssey* is reinforced by the emphasis in the immediately preceding Drepane-narrative upon the "Greekness" of the island, which is all but a homecoming for the Argonauts (cf. 4.997, 1074–5, 1103); Drepane is the Homeric Scherie (Corfu) on which Odysseus told his tale, and where—for all the oddities of the people—he found that "Greek" values, such as athletics and poetry, were prized. The Homeric Phaeacians were supernaturally skilled seafarers; the contrast with the Libyan Syrtis in which the science of navigation, that most Greek of skills, is entirely useless (cf. 4.1260–77) could hardly be more pronounced.

In this empty nothingness the Argonauts are saved by the pity (4.1308) of the "heroines", perhaps—though this is not made absolutely explicit—because of their status as "epic heroes" (4.1319–21):

> ἴδμεν ἐποιχομένους χρύσεον δέρος· ἴδμεν ἕκαστα
> ὑμετέρων καμάτων, ὅσ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὅσσα τ' ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
> πλαζόμενοι κατὰ πόντον ὑπέρβια ἔργα κάμεσθε.

> We know that you and your comrades went to gain the golden fleece; we know every detail of all your sufferings, all the extraordinary things you have endured on land and sea in your wanderings over the ocean.

[32] Fusillo (1985) 372–4 has a helpful, if rather too one-sided, discussion of Apollonius' "rationalist" attitude. On this passage see also Goldhill (1991) 293.

[33] Cf., e.g., Knight (1995) 125–7.

These words echo those with which the Sirens seek to lure Odysseus to his doom by the promise of epic song about Troy (*Od.* 12.184–91); here, however, the *kleos* of the Argonauts saves them, even before they have completed their voyage. Epic poetry is the telling of "famed stories". The Hellenistic epic intensifies this sense of repetition by the constant suggestion that the Argonauts are not merely journeying towards *kleos*, but are forever accompanied by, and measured against, previous accounts of their voyage. This palpable sense of a textured tradition is a fundamental feature of the aesthetics of the *Argonautica.*

With the opening generic marker, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν, comes a further mark of Hellenistic distance.[34] In the *Iliad*, Phoenix evoked the deeds of "heroic men before us" in order to encourage Achilles to emulation; the story which he then tells still lives in his memory, though it is "long ago, not at all recent" (*Il.* 9.527). So too in the *Odyssey*, Demodokos sings of men and events of his own generation—Agamemnon, Achilles, Odysseus, the fall of Troy. Most striking of all, in book 1 Phemios sings of the *nostos* of the Greeks from Troy (*Od.* 1.326–7), events which are of very recent happening and are indeed, at least for Odysseus, still going on. Here the poet fashions for us a glimpse of the beginnings of a particular song tradition. The poet of the *Iliad* himself, as opposed to his characters, draws a famous distinction between the heroic prowess of his characters and "men as they are now",[35] so that the epic itself tells of heroes (cf. *Il.* 1.4) "born long ago", though those heroes themselves listen to "contemporary" stories and songs. This difference between the subject of Homer's song and the subjects of which his bards sing may be seen as a fundamental part of Homer's creation of a distant, heroic world. Nevertheless, despite the gap between "then" and "now", and however "walled off absolutely from all subsequent times"[36] the epic past in Homer may be, Homer does not in fact emphatically foreground the temporal distance between himself and the subjects of his song, as Apollonius does in the very opening verse; even the slighting references to "men as they are now" are rhetorically not much stronger

[34] For a possible relation with "cyclic" beginnings cf. below 123.
[35] Cf. *Il.* 5.302–4; 12.380–3, 447–50; 20.285–7.
[36] Bakhtin (1981) 15. Bakhtin's very influential account of "the epic past" (ibid. 15–18) is really applicable only to the *Iliad* of all classical epics, and even there important reservations are necessary.

than Nestor's unfavourable contrast between his own youth and "the present lot" (*Il.* 1.271–2; 7.123–60).[37] Apollonius, however, in both the proem and the closing *envoi* stresses his own temporal distance from the Argonauts, a distance which is one manifestation of a self-conscious generic placement: "epic" concerns men and events "long ago". This poetic stance may now be seen to develop from a related positioning already found in the Homeric poems: it is not a matter of a radical break with the past through the creation of a quite new poetics, but rather of a rearrangement of emphasis giving new meaning to particular elements within a pre-existing repertoire. Whereas, however, this generic placement emphasises distance between "then" and "now", the powerful aetiological drive of the *Argonautica* works to break down that distance and to problematise the nature of epic time.[38]

2

In writing a relatively long narrative poem on a mythological subject, and one which clearly measures itself against the Homeric poems, Apollonius seems in some respects to have gone against the predominant poetic trends of his Alexandrian context. It cannot, however, be too often stressed that the vast majority of Hellenistic hexameter narrative poetry has been lost, and that the meagre fragments which survive, together with the known titles, offer ample opportunity for disagreement about the nature and scope of the poems from which they derive.[39] Cameron has argued forcefully that much of what has been taken for evidence of large-scale Hellenistic mythological epic in fact reflects relatively short poetry, often of an encomiastic or locally regional character.[40] Apollonius' other poetry of which we know, hexameter poems on "Foundations" and a choliambic poem about Kanobos, the site of a Ptolemaic temple of

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[37] This is not, of course, to deny the importance of such passages as the opening of *Iliad* 12 on the destruction of the Achaean wall (cf. Hunter [1993a] 103–4, and De Jong [1987] 44–5), but it is the explicitness of the Hellenistic poet which is at issue.

[38] For aetiology in the *Argonautica* cf. Fusillo (1985) 116–58; Goldhill (1991) 321–33; Valverde Sánchez (1989).

[39] There is an important survey by Marco Fantuzzi in Ziegler (1988).

[40] Cameron (1995) 262–302.

Sarapis, seem very firmly within the interests of the Alexandrian avant-garde, the best (and, in many respects, only) witness to which is Callimachus.[41] The *Argonautica* was, moreover, a fashionable poem with the Roman neoterics (cf. Varro of Atax's translation, Catullus 64 etc.), who fashioned themselves as the heirs of that Alexandrian avant-garde, and there is no suggestion in the Roman *Nachleben* that the *Argonautica* was in any way out of step with the modern "Callimachean" style. It is hard to believe that any such views would not have left traces in the explicit polemising of the Roman elegists against the writing of epic.

Callimachus himself seems to have written no "epic" poem, as that term is now understood. The *Hekale*, a poem of uncertain length (?? c. 1200 hexameters),[42] told the story of how Theseus, on his way to fight the bull of Marathon, was entertained in the Attic countryside by a woman called Hekale, when he took shelter in her hut from a storm; on returning after his triumph over the bull, the hero found that Hekale had died, and so he gave her name to the local deme and founded a shrine of Zeus Hekaleios. If much about the *Hekale*, particularly its aetiological focus and its interest in "ordinary" lives, recalls other areas of Callimachus' œuvre, the "generic" resonance of the poem was clearly that of epic.[43] This is suggested by the metre, the use of "epic" similes (which are otherwise very rare in what survives of Callimachus' poetry), the extensive use of direct speech with its consequent implications for the ethical presentation of the characters, the rarity, if not in fact total absence, of the intrusive authorial voice so familiar in the *Aitia* and the *Hymns* (and indeed in Apollonius' *Argonautica*),[44] and a verbal style which is closer to Homer than is the style of Callimachus' *Hymns*.[45] It is a reasonable inference that, for Callimachus, this was "epic", as he would write

[41] Cf. Hunter (1989a) 9–12, Krevans (2000).

[42] Cf. Hollis (1990) Appendix II.

[43] Cf. in general Cameron (1995) 437–47.

[44] Cf. Cameron (1992) 311–12; Hunter (1993a) 115–16; Lynn (1995) 71–2. The state of preservation of the text obviously enjoins caution, but the clear direction of what does survive can hardly be dismissed as pure chance. In their editions, Hollis and D'Alessio note frr. 15, 65 and 149 as probable or possible examples of authorial apostrophe to a character; this type of "intervention" had, of course, good Homeric precedent.

[45] Cf. Hollis (1990) 12. On the style of the *Hekale* see also Fantuzzi (1988) 20–1, 25.

it. The wretchedly broken fragments of Callimachus' treatment in book 1 of the *Aitia* of the Argonauts' return to Greece (frr. 9.19–23 Massimilla) may illustrate these stylistic differences—these fragments look more like the *Argonautica*, which all but certainly borrowed from them,[46] than the *Hekale*—though they are also a warning against facile distinctions between "epic" and "elegiac" narrative.[47]

Much more wide-ranging inferences about Callimachus' attitude to "traditional epic" (and hence perhaps to the *Argonautica*) have been drawn from the "Reply to the Telchines", which stood at the head of the *Aitia*, and the conclusion to the *Hymn to Apollo*. Neither passage can be discussed in any detail here, though one issue from the opening of "the Reply" must be considered, as it is of the greatest importance for the poetics of the *Argonautica*. In these verses Callimachus claims that "the Telchines" criticise him because he did not write one continuous song (ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές) in many thousands of verses; he thus advertises the *Aitia* as not διηνεκές. As a pejorative term applied to a poem, διηνεκές might mean "continuous, unbroken", i.e. poetry "in which the poet simply records one event after another without any structure or climax, as though writing a chronicle";[48] the obvious example of such a poem would be the Cyclic epics as represented by Aristotle (*Po.* 1459a37–b7), poems which started at a beginning given by chance or time (e.g. a hero's birth) and carried on sequentially to a *telos* not following causally from the opening. A narrative of all the labours of Heracles would be such a poem.[49] More positively, however, the word is used from Homer onwards of speech which is "complete and properly ordered", and hence "accurate" (in both senses), "genau und vollständig";[50] to speak διηνεκές in archaic epic is to speak well and without concealment or "economy with the truth". So Odysseus replies to Queen Arete's questions with an apology (*Od.* 7.241–2):

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[46] Particularly close are Jason's prayers (fr. 20.5–8 Massimilla, *Arg.* 4.1701–5).

[47] Of particular interest are the style of Aietes' address at fr. 9.30 ff. Massimilla (the new ἀνατράπελα, the colloquial ἐποιήσαντό με φόρτον (cf. E. Magnelli, *Prometheus* 24 [1998] 215–16), and the repeated σοῦσθε which may also have a "non-epic" feel), the dialectology of fr. 13, and the extraordinary time-designation at fr. 23.4–5.

[48] Cameron (1995) 343; for this sense cf. also Hunter (1993a) 192–3.

[49] Cf. Hunter (1998) 128.

[50] Asper (1997) 218; Asper's full discussion of this sense should be consulted. Cf. also Lynn (1995) 133–6.

ἀργαλέον, βασίλεια, διηνεκέως ἀγορεῦσαι
κήδε', ἐπεί μοι πολλὰ δόσαν θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες.

It is hard, queen, to give a complete account of my troubles, since many are those which the heavenly ones have given me.[51]

When Virgil's queen asks Aeneas to tell his story she repeats this sense of fullness and ordering (*Aen.* 1.753–5):[52]

"immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
insidias" inquit "Danaum casusque tuorum
erroresque tuos . . ."

Come now, my guest, and recount to us from the very beginning the deceit of the Greeks and the sufferings and wanderings of yourself and your men. . . .

Apollonius uses διηνεκές of lengthy speeches which cover every detail in full, a style of speaking which the *Argonautica* sometimes rejects (cf. 1.648–9; 2.391; 3.401). The word is most neatly explained by Phineus who tells the Argonauts that he was punished for revealing Zeus's mind ἑξείης τε καὶ ἐς τέλος, "sequentially and through to the end" (2.314), but must then pull himself up to prevent once again prophesying τὰ ἕκαστα διηνεκές "every detail without omission" (2.391); the two phrases are virtually identical in meaning.[53] In apparently denying this quality to the *Aitia*, however exactly the word is understood, Callimachus seems to advertise both the discontinuous, fractured nature of the *Aitia* as a whole and the partial, selective narrative on view in individual episodes (the narrative of "Akontios and Kydippe", with its insistent silences, is a striking example). At the very least, it is not unreasonable to infer that narrative continuity and completeness was a live issue among those interested in poetics and to enquire where the *Argonautica* would fit in such a discussion.

There is in fact an intriguing piece of evidence that the *Argonautica* did indeed figure in some such discussion. A cruelly torn papyrus of the second century A.D. seems to contain a comparison of the

[51] Cf. also *Od.* 12.56; Hes. *Th.* 627. At fr. 30.8 Massimilla Callimachus seems to associate ἠνεκές with rhapsodic performance.

[52] The parallel passage at *Od.* 8.572 shows how readily διηνεκέως and ἀτρεκέως, "accurately, truly", overlap.

[53] That the subject of Phineus' narration is a coastal voyage in which sequential order is imposed by geography (cf. ἑξείης at 2.380, 395) reinforces the primary sense of the term. So too, Jason's account to Lykos is told ἑξείης (2.771), and it follows what we know to have been the order of the poem.

οἰκονομία of Apollonius' poem with at least two other versions of the same story (*SH* 339A).[54] One poem is apparently praised, as Homer is in the grammatical tradition, for its συντομία (not so much "brief writing", but "writing in which every word matters")[55] and use of παρεκβάσεις, "digressions", which allow the reader some respite, whereas another poem seems to tell the story "at length all the way through". Unfortunately, the state of the papyrus does not allow us to know which poem the unknown critic classed as "more Homeric" and to what the phrase "continuous and of many verses" (συνεχέσι καὶ πολυστίχοις) refers; the obvious temptation to see a contrast between Apollonian "wordiness" and some different "modern" treatment may be completely misleading.

In his discussion of this papyrus, Rusten calls attention to a passage of Polybius (38.5–6) which discusses similar issues in the historians (trans. W. R. Paton, adapted):

> I am not unaware that some people will criticise my history on the grounds that my narrative of events is incomplete and disconnected (ἀτελῆ καὶ διερριμένην). For example, after undertaking to give an account of the siege of Carthage I leave that in suspense and interrupting myself pass to the affairs of Greece, and next to those of Macedonia, Syria and other countries, while students desire continuous narrative and long to learn the issue of the matter I first set my hand to (ζητεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ τὸ τέλος ἱμείρειν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς προθέσεως) . . . My opinion is just the reverse of this; and I would appeal to the testimony of Nature (φύσις) herself, who in the case of any of the senses never elects to go on persistently (κατὰ τὸ συνεχές) with the same allurements, but is ever fond of change and desires to meet with the same things after an interval and a difference. . . . And the same holds good as regards the sense of sight. For it is quite incapable of gazing constantly at one object, but requires variety and change in what is seen (ἡ ποικιλία καὶ μεταβολὴ τῶν ὁρωμένων) to stimulate it. But this is especially true as regards the intellect. For hard workers find a sort of rest in change of the subjects which absorb and interest them. And this, I think, is why the most thoughtful of ancient writers (οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων) were in the habit of giving their readers a rest in the way I say, some of them employing digressions dealing with myth or story and others digressions on matters of fact (τινὲς μὲν μυθικαῖς καὶ διηγηματικαῖς κεχρημένοι παρεκβάσεσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ πραγματικαῖς), so that not only do they shift the

[54] The basic discussion is Rusten (1982) 53–64.

[55] Cf. the Index to Erbse's edition of the *Iliad scholia* s.vv. συντομία, σύντομος, Franz (1943) 26–7.

> scene from one part of Greece to another, but include doings abroad . . . All historians have resorted to this device but have done so in a random way (ἀτάκτως), while I myself use it methodically (τεταγμένως). For these other authors, after mentioning how Bardyllis, the king of Illyria, and Cersobleptes, the king of Thrace, acquired their kingdoms, do not give us the continuation (τὸ συνεχές) or carry us on to what proved to be the sequel after a certain lapse of time, but merely insert these things as in a poem (καθάπερ ἐν ποιήματι) and then return to the original subject. But I myself, keeping distinct all the most important parts of the world and the events that took place in each, and adhering always to a uniform conception of how each matter should be treated . . . obviously leave full liberty to students to carry back their minds to the continuous narrative (ἐπὶ τὸν συνεχῆ λόγον) and the several points at which I interrupted it, so that those who wish to learn may find none of the matters I have mentioned imperfect and deficient.

The interest of this passage in the present context lies not so much in any novelty of terminology or thought—for both can be amply paralleled in ancient criticism—but in the fullness and clarity with which the issues are presented. There can, of course, be no simple transference from historiography to poetry, for Polybius is defending a synchronic narrative method in which, as it were, many narratives are in play at the same time but none is presented "continuously"; the appeal to the advantages of ποικιλία suits the argument, though it is at least debatable whether Polybius' method really could be described as an ordered (τεταγμένως) use of "digressions". Be that as it may, the privileging of a narrative method other than the telling of a story largely without interruption all the way through to the end has an obvious resonance against both Callimachus' ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές and the critical language of the fragmentary papyrus. Relevant also is what Aristotle has to say about epic construction in the *Poetics*.

In Chapter 8 Aristotle discusses the nature of poetic *mythos* (*Po.* 1451a 16–35, trans. M. Hubbard):

> Unity of plot is not, as some think, achieved by writing about one man . . . one man's actions (πράξεις) are numerous and do not make up any single action (μία πρᾶξις). That is why I think the poets mistaken who have produced *Heracleids* or *Theseids* or other poems of this kind, in the belief that the plot would be one just because Heracles was one. Homer especially shows his superiority in taking a right view here—whether by art or nature: in writing a poem on Odysseus he did not introduce everything that was incidentally true of him, being wounded on Parnassus, for instance, or pretending to be mad at the mustering of the fleet, neither of which necessarily or probably implied

> the other at all; instead he composed the *Odyssey* about an action that is one in the sense I mean (περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν οἵαν λέγομεν), and the same is true of the *Iliad*... a plot, being a *mimesis* of an action, should be a *mimesis* of one action and that a whole one, with the different sections so arranged that the whole is disturbed by the transposition and destroyed by the removal of any one of them; for if it makes no visible difference whether a thing is there or not, that thing is no part of the whole.

In Chapter 23 Aristotle returns to the subject again (*Po.* 1459a 17–37, trans. M. Hubbard):

> Clearly one should compose [epic] plots to be dramatic,[56] just as in the case of tragedies, that is, about one whole or complete action with a beginning, middle parts, and end, so that it produces its proper pleasure like a single whole living creature. Its plots should not be like histories; for in histories it is necessary to give a report of a single period, not of a unified action, that is, one must say whatever was the case in that period about one man or more; and each of these things may have a quite casual interrelation. For just as, if one thinks of the same time, we have the battle of Salamis and the battle of Himera against the Carthaginians not directed to achieve any identical purpose, so in consecutive times one thing sometimes happens after another without any common purpose being achieved by them. Most epic poets do make plots like histories. So in this respect too Homer is marvellous in the way already described, in that he did not undertake to make a whole poem of the war either, even though it had a beginning and an end. For the plot would have been too large and not easy to see as a whole (οὐκ εὐσύνοπτος), or if it had been kept to a moderate length it would have been tangled because of the variety of events (καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποικιλίᾳ). As it is he takes one part and uses many others as episodes, for example, the catalogue of the ships and the other episodes with which he breaks the uniformity of his poem (διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν).

Somewhat later, Aristotle actually tries to prescribe a length for epic, and the prescription seems remarkably like the 5,835 verses of the *Argonautica* (*Po.* 1459b 19–22, trans. M. Hubbard):

> One should be able to get a synoptic view of the beginning and the end [of an epic]. This will be the case if the poems are shorter than those of the ancients, and about as long as the number of tragedies offered at one sitting.

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[56] On this term cf. below 120 ff.

The first point to be made is that, for all the differences of subject and attitude between Aristotle and Polybius—and some of what Polybius has to say about his synchronic method seems at first glance like the confirmation of Aristotle's worst fears about historiography—it is clear that arrangement and structure, the relation of part to whole, are key issues of Hellenistic debate. The influence of peripatetic ideas in the Homeric *scholia* makes it very likely that a leading Alexandrian scholar such as Apollonius would have been in touch with the literary criticism of the Peripatos, but, whether this is so or not, everything suggests that Apollonius will have expected his readers to take particular note of the οἰκονομία of his poem as a major programmatic marker.

If, however, it is easy enough to see how the *Aitia* is "discontinuous", and what we know of the *Hekale* suggests that it too was at least very ποικίλον, avoided the linear narrative of the cyclic epics rejected by Aristotle (who, as we have seen, specifically names "Theseids" as a type of poem particularly prone to structural weakness),[57] and presented a single *praxis* of some kind, the case of the *Argonautica* is more problematic. Apollonius' decision to write the story of the Argonautic voyage in a linear fashion, beginning at the beginning, reaching the turning-point halfway through (at the end of book 2) and finishing the moment the voyage ends (at the same spot where it began), offers (in one sense) a closed structure to which the term κυκλικόν, "having the form of a circle", might readily be applied; so too might διηνεκές, if emphasis is given to the sense of chronological ordering and completeness suggested by the gloss συνεχῶς (*sch.* D on *Il.* 7.321). More than once, Apollonius calls attention to the outward claim of comprehensiveness which is implied in the traditional usage of the term. In book 2 he tells of the rites which followed the death of the prophet Idmon and the visible signs which still persist (2.841–50):

καὶ δή τοι κέχυται τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ἐν χθονὶ κείνῃ
τύμβος· σῆμα δ' ἔπεστι καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἰδέσθαι,
νήιος ἐκ κοτίνοιο φάλαγξ—θαλέθει δέ τε φύλλοις—,
ἄκρης τυτθὸν ἔνερθ' Ἀχερουσίδος. εἰ δέ με καὶ τὸ
χρειὼ ἀπηλεγέως Μουσέων ὕπο γηρύσασθαι,

[57] Like the *Odyssey*, the *Hekale* tells the story of a crucial episode in the life (and in this case death) of one mortal, but through an enclosed narration much of that character's past life is also revealed.

τόνδε πολισσοῦχον διεπέφραδε Βοιωτοῖσι
Νισαίοισί τε Φοῖβος ἐπιρρήδην ἱλάεσθαι,
ἀμφὶ δὲ τήνδε φάλαγγα παλαιγενέος κοτίνοιο
ἄστυ βαλεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀντὶ θεουδέος Αἰολίδαο
Ἴδμονος εἰσέτι νῦν Ἀγαμήστορα κυδαίνουσι.

This man's tomb rises in that land a little below the Acherousian headland; as a marker visible to men of later generations, it is crowned by a ship's roller made from wild-olive and covered in abundant foliage. If under the Muses I must also tell without constraint of what follows, Phoibos instructed the Boiotians and Nisaians to pay honours to this man under the title "Protector of the City" and to establish a city around this roller of ancient olive-wood; they, however, to this day glorify Agamestor rather than Idmon, the descendant of god-fearing Aiolos.

The apparent reluctance to tell the full story of this *aition* ἀπηλεγέως, probably "straight out, i.e. without euphemistic concealment",[58] seems to refer to the fact that the *aition* honours Agamestor, rather than Idmon; what forces him to do so is his duty to the Muses *qua* poet of the Argonautic story in all its myriad ramifications, but this apparent "necessity" merely calls attention to the poet's freedom to include or exclude. "Comprehensiveness", like all poetic qualities, is a matter of choice.[59] So too, at 4.985, in the Drepane *aition* which was discussed above, the poet's "unwillingness" (οὐκ ἐθέλων) to tell the tale of Ouranos' castration of his father in fact dramatises his choice to do so.[60] At one level, then, Apollonius tells the story διηνεκέως, but the ironic acknowledgement of the impossibility of "completeness", the awareness that all narration is a process of selectivity, undermines the apparent assurance of the archaic category.

In archaic epic the positive virtue of "telling the whole story", of διηνεκές narrative, can sit harmoniously with the fact that tellings (have to) begin at a certain point in the web of story; the essential narrative act is "taking up the tale from the point where . . .", ἔνθεν ἑλών, that narrative move which Callimachus replicates in his "Argonautica" (fr. 9.25 Massimilla).[61] The *in medias res* structure of the *Odyssey* is not merely a matter of technique, but a way of representing a fundamental fact of the self-presentation of early epic

[58] Cf. Livrea on 4.689.
[59] On "comprehensiveness" in the *Argonautica* cf. Fusillo (1985) *passim*.
[60] Contrast Fusillo (1985) 372 who regards the *aition* as "ineliminabile".
[61] Cf. Lynn (1995) 162.

song. In Hellenistic narrative, however, these two tendencies have to some extent been set in opposition, perhaps under the influence of other narrative modes, such as that of choral lyric, where overt selectivity and imbalance had always predominated. One result of these developments may be seen in narratives such as Moschus' *Europa*, the so-called "epyllia", another in the episodic structure of Theocritus 25.[62] Apollonius "begins at the beginning" and "ends at the end", thus both avoiding and dramatising the impasse. The end of *Aeneid* 1, which we considered above, seems to evoke both kinds of narrative: Dido's insistent questions (vv. 748–52) ask first for "epyllia", and then—to keep Aeneas at the banquet for as long as possible—"the whole story".

In both the *Iliad* and the *Argonautica* the opening verses foreshadow what is to come, and then a transitional passage (1.5–17; *Il.* 1.12–42) fills in some of the background up to the point at which the narrative proper begins.[63] On the other hand, there is in the *Argonautica* nothing corresponding to the scenes of *Iliad* 2–4 which seem to belong "really" to the earlier part of the war—and the early placing of the Apollonian catalogue might be taken as a "corrective" of the Homeric positioning—whereas there does seem to be a pointed contrast with the elaborate structuring of the *Odyssey*, which opens with the hero stuck on Kalypso's island. Moreover, the *Argonautica* maintains a (relatively) deafening silence about events "before the poem began", in marked contrast to Odysseus' narration of his travels. Although we eventually learn of one of the reasons for Hera's favour towards Jason (3.60–75) and there are various scattered hints about the circumstances of Phrixos' flight from Greece,[64] we hear almost nothing of Jason's upbringing or the background to Pelias' imposition of the quest; when Jason tells Lykos his story (ἔπη), he begins precisely where the poem began, with Pelias' instructions and the catalogue of Argonauts (2.762–3).[65] A first-person voyage-narrative imposes, of course, its own kind of linearity; when Odysseus recounts his adventures to Penelope (*Od.* 23.310–43), he follows precise chronological order, as he does with his main narration to the

[62] Cf. Hunter (1998).
[63] For ancient praise of Homer's technique cf. Brink on Hor. *AP* 148.
[64] Cf. Hunter (1989a) 21.
[65] This silence must be distinguished from the many included accounts of "previous history", cf. Fusillo (1985) 24–98.

Phaeacians (except for his initial references to Kalypso and Kirke, which act as narrative "tasters", *Od.* 9.29–33). As for the end, both Homeric epics (as also the *Aeneid*) conclude with an episode not explicitly foreshadowed in the proem—the burial of Hektor, the battle between Odysseus and the suitors' families—whereas the ending of the *Argonautica*, which from one point of view seems radically abrupt, is, from another, surprising only in its complete predictability: how else could the voyage-narrative have ended? By way of contrast, the actual end of both Homeric poems was disputed in ancient transmission. An alternative "ending" (or, rather, beginning of a new direction) for the *Iliad* survives, ὣς οἵ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζὼν/Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο, "so they conducted the burial of Hektor, but there arrived the Amazon, daughter of great Ares, the man-slayer", a phenomenon indicative of "the expectation in an oral tradition that an epic narrative will be continued".[66] The conclusion to the *Argonautica* formally substitutes the hope of ritual repetition (4.1774–5) for this expectation. As for the *Odyssey*, the alternative "end" determined by Aristophanes of Byzantium and later Aristarchus at 23.296, ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἵκοντο, to which the conclusion of the *Argonautica* may allude,[67] again suggests the openness of epic endings. Every reader of the *Argonautica* carries knowledge of the future fates of Pelias, Jason and Medea beyond the poem, but the formal ending could hardly be more solid or fixed, for the poet himself announces it as such.

A final consideration within the area of narrative continuity is the privileged place epic gives to included narratives, both of direct relevance to "the principal story" (e.g. Achilles to Thetis in *Iliad* 1) and of more oblique significance (the stories of Nestor and Phoenix in the *Iliad* or of Menelaos in the *Odyssey*, for example).[68] In this feature also, discretion within generic parameters, sometimes amounting to an apparent preference for silence, is the Apollonian hallmark. In part this is because of the new prominence of the narrator, who himself is able to expand "tangential" stories at length (e.g. the story

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[66] Hardie (1997b) 139. The verses are often associated with the *Aithiopis*, but cf. Davies (1988) 48 and (1989) 61.

[67] For discussion and bibliography cf. Hunter (1993a) 119–20, Theodorakopoulos (1998).

[68] Cf. Hardie (1993) 99, "epic heroes themselves feel a strong pressure to narrate, by telling stories of past heroic events".

of Aristaios, 2.498–528), and, as the Aristaios narration suggests, there is a sense in which aetiology, which binds the present to the past, has taken the place of "epic" stories which rather accentuate the divide between the two. This distinction between Homer and Apollonius is not, of course, absolute. Phineus' account of his companion Paraibios (2.468–89) evokes familiar epic themes; Lykos' narrative of Herakles at 2.774–810 suggests the various Herakles-epics known to antiquity,[69] and athletic competitions at funeral-games (2.780–5) is another well-known setting. Nevertheless, the brevity and ellipse of Apollonian narrative are here striking. Jason himself "summarises the poem" for Lykos at 2.762–72, in a catalogue which makes Odysseus' account of his adventures to Penelope (*Od.* 23.310–43) seem positively verbose. A similar impression is left by a comparison of Argos' brief plea to the Argonauts for help (2.1123–33) with Odysseus' speech to Nausikaa when in a not dissimilar predicament (*Od.* 6.149–85). So too, in response to Jason's question as to the identity of the shipwrecked foursome, Argos provides an Apollonian version of the familiar genealogical self-presentation of the Homeric hero (2.1141–56). Probably the most famous such speech in Homer is Glaukos' response to Diomedes at *Il.* 6.145–210 ("as are the generations of leaves, so are those of men . . ."), containing the lengthy narrative about Bellerophon, and that scene does indeed seem to have been in Apollonius' mind. In both epics the speech of self-presentation leads to a recognition of relationship (*Il.* 6.215 ~ *Arg.* 2.1160). Having first rejected the importance of γενεή in the face of human change, Glaukos then expatiates at length, noting—with a typically heroic concern for *kleos*—that "many men know of my family already" (*Il.* 6.151).[70] Argos dispenses with preamble: "That a descendant of Aiolos called Phrixos travelled to Aia from Hellas I have no doubt you yourselves are already aware". We recognise a typical reworking of an archaic motif—the assumed fame of one's family history—but the form of the reworking forces us to ask: "Why should these complete strangers (cf. 2.1123–4) know this"? Perhaps Argos is so self-absorbed that he cannot conceive of a human being

[69] Cf. Hunter (1998).

[70] For other relevant considerations here cf. Scodel (1998) 175–6. The claim that the genealogy is already famous is a familiar strategy of Iliadic heroes, cf. *Il.* 20.203–5, Ford (1992) 63–7.

ignorant of the story of the Golden Fleece, but perhaps rather the literate poet, always concerned to put ironising distance between himself and the discursive, repetitive style of archaic epic, not only cuts the story-telling short but, in doing so, lays bare the assumptions of epic form.[71] "Commentary" on inherited poetic techniques and themes is a central feature of the Hellenistic epic. It is this poetic voice again which we hear shortly after through Jason's words (2.1165–6):

> ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν καὶ ἐσαῦτις ἐνίψομεν ἀλλήλοισι,
> νῦν δ' ἕσσασθε πάροιθεν.
>
> But we will talk of these things at a later time; now first put on clothes.

Homeric characters always had time to talk.

In books 1–2, a relatively familiar geography and then the guiding words of Phineus impose an order and predictability upon the voyage. On the return journey, however, not only are we dealing (as Apollonius' readers would have been well aware) with a much more fantastic geography, but the very diversity of return routes which tradition recorded for the Argonauts imposed (at least the potential for) greater randomness and chaos to break up any sense of predictable linearity. The major shifts of direction in the return voyage are in fact as follows: (i) At 4.253 ff., while on the Paphlagonian coast, the heroes recall that Phineus had prophesied a "different route" for the return voyage, and Argos tells them of the route marked out by a nameless traveller from the mists of time; Hera then sends a heavenly light to guide them and they head off northwest across the Black Sea. (ii) At 4.552 ff., as the Argonauts are sailing south down the eastern side of the Adriatic, Hera realises that Zeus requires them to be cleansed by Kirke and so she sends southerly winds that drive the *Argo* back up the Adriatic and into the Eridanos (Po), so that they can make the long and hazardous voyage around to the west coast of Italy where Kirke lives. The shift in direction is introduced by one of Apollonius' rare addresses to the Muses (4.552–6):

[71] It is instructive of the difference between Apollonius and Virgil in their approach to epic form that the latter avoids such a difficulty in the comparable scene of Achaemenides' meeting with Aeneas and his crew (cf. Heinze [1915] 112 n. 4) by having Achaemenides recognise them as Trojans from clothes and weapons (3.596–7).

ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρὲξ ἁλός, ἀμφί τε γαῖαν
Αὐσονίην νήσους τε Λιγυστίδας, αἳ καλέονται
Στοιχάδες, Ἀργῴης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς
νημερτὲς πέφαται; τίς ἀπόπροθι τόσσον ἀνάγκη
καὶ χρειὼ σφ' ἐκόμισσε; τίνες σφέας ἤγαγον αὖραι;

How is it, goddesses, that beyond this sea, in the Ausonian land and the Ligurian islands called Stoichades, many clear traces of the Argo's voyage appear? What necessity and need took them so far away? What winds directed them?

Among other considerations,[72] the appeal to the Muses, with its implied abrogation of responsibility, marks the suddenness, almost randomness of the change; the poet finds a "causal nexus"—Zeus' anger at the killing of Apsyrtos—but even he is puzzled by the change (note πoυ in 4.557).[73] "Necessity and need" (ἀνάγκη καὶ χρειώ) here drive an otherwise rudderless narrative. (iii) It is Hera's intervention again which prevents the Argonauts from taking a fatal turning at the Herkynian Rock and directs them rather into the safety of the Rhône (4.636–44). (iv) It is the action of Hera and Thetis which gets the Argonauts moving again after the stop with Kirke. (v) After the Argonauts leave Drepane, things seem to be going well (4.1223–7):

ἤματι δ' ἑβδομάτῳ Δρεπάνην λίπον· ἤλυθε δ' οὖρος
ἀκραὴς ἠῶθεν ὑπεύδιος· οἱ δ' ἀνέμοιο
πνοιῇ ἐπειγόμενοι προτέρω θέον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔ πω
αἴσιμον ἦν ἐπιβῆναι Ἀχαιίδος ἡρώεσσιν,
ὄφρ' ἔτι καὶ Λιβύης ἐπὶ πείρασιν ὀτλήσειαν.

On the seventh day they left Drepane. At dawn the weather was clear and a strong breeze blew; they sailed quickly on, propelled by the strength of the wind. It was not yet fated, however, for the heroes to step upon the Achaian land: first they must undergo further sufferings on the borders of Libya.

The Argonauts must go to Libya because it is αἴσιμον; a human character quite naturally appeals to αἶσα to explain events in retrospect, but for the poet so to do is to advertise the "composite" nature of the narrative, to allow the seams in the "stitched song" to show. (vi) It is a series of divine interventions which save the Argonauts in North Africa and allow them to reach the Mediterranean again.

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[72] Cf. Fusillo (1985) 370–1, and above 94 ff.
[73] Cf. Hunter (1993a) 108–9.

In place, then, of the directed voyage of books 1–2, book 4 offers a patternless voyage which can only be explained in terms of divine interventions and a series of intertextual decisions. This is thrown into particular relief by a comparison with the principal intertext, Odysseus' tale of his voyage. Odysseus is driven off course by north winds and carried for nine days (presumably southwards) to the Lotus-eaters; from there, no further direction is given (*Od.* 9.105–7). So too, when Odysseus and his men leave the Cyclops' island, they simply start rowing and sail "further" (προτέρω) to Aiolos' island (*Od.* 9.565–10.1); from there they are heading in the right direction until the crew's foolishness unties the bag of winds, and they are pushed back to Aiolos; when Aiolos throws them out, they once again sail "further", but with no indication of direction or wind (*Od.* 9.77–9). The next stop is the Laistrygonians, and then, with precisely the same pattern, Kirke (*Od.* 9.133–5). Kirke offers directions for the Underworld and after, and finally the gods take a hand after the eating of the Cattle of the Sun. Under the influence of ancient views of the geography of Odysseus' travels, Apollonius has mapped the Homeric absence of spatial co-ordinates on to a more modern and "comprehensive" geography, and he has replaced the formulaic Homeric link between stops on the voyage by an almost equally random, but poetically much more self-conscious, set of variations. Indeed, the three major shifts in direction for the Argonauts, (i), (ii) and (v) above, form a progressive sequence of "inexplicability" on the human scale: from Argos' memory confirmed by omen, to Hera's decisive and "necessary" intervention, and finally to the unexplained workings of αἶσα.

3

A voyage-narrative was never going to be easy to accommodate within an Aristotelian scheme, and Aristotle would certainly not have looked for a causal nexus of necessity or probability in the various stages of Odysseus' own tale. It is precisely this inherent inconsequentiality, the episodic partition imposed by the very nature of travel, which can be seen at the heart of the Western tradition of "romance", as opposed to the harsh teleologies of "epic".[74] Such a

[74] Cf. esp. Quint. (1993) 31–41 and *passim*.

distinction has, of course, no real significance within ancient criticism, although "Longinus"' comparison between the *Iliad*, whose "whole body is dramatic and full of contest" (δραματικὸν καὶ ἐναγώνιον), and the *Odyssey* which is largely narrative (διηγηματικόν) is moving towards an important element of what was to become the traditional distinction (*De subl.* 9.13). Although the thought is not easy to follow in this chapter (and the text may be corrupt), it is clear that "Longinus" associates what he sees as the diminution of Homer's power in the *Odyssey*, a relaxing of the stirring tension of the *Iliad*, with the increased prominence of τὰ μυθώδη καὶ ἄπιστα; even in those episodes of admitted power, "the mythical element is predominant over action" (τοῦ πρακτικοῦ κρατεῖ τὸ μυθικόν). In rewriting Odysseus' adventures, Apollonius exaggerates (if anything) the element of τὸ μυθικόν—the passage through the Planktai is perhaps the *locus classicus*—and it is tempting to see here a generic exploration of the nature of epic, in a way that to some extent foreshadows "Longinus"' discussion of the *Odyssey*. Two (related) further considerations might lend colour to this suggestion.

For both Aristotle and "Longinus" the best epics or epic plots are "dramatic" (δραματικόν).[75] In opposing the δραματικὸν καὶ ἐναγώνιον *Iliad* to the *Odyssey* which is largely διηγηματικόν, "Longinus" is (whether by chance or design) a distant descendant of the fourth-century concern with the distinction between "narrative" and *mimesis* (in Plato's sense, cf. Pl. *R.* 3.392c ff., Arist. *Po.* 1448a 20–5) and, in particular, of Aristotle's praise for Homer's self-concealment (*Po.* 1460a 5–11, trans. M. Hubbard):

> Homer especially deserves praise as the only epic poet to realize what the epic poet should do in his own person, that is, say as little as possible, since it is not in virtue of speaking in his own person that he is a maker of *mimesis*. Other poets are personally engaged throughout (δι' ὅλου ἀγωνίζονται), and only rarely use *mimesis*; but Homer after a brief preface at once brings on a man or woman or other characterized person (ἄλλο τι ἦθος), none of them characterless, but all full of character.

The *Argonautica* holds something of a problematic position when examined by these criteria. On the one hand, the poet "speaks" far more than in Homer: some 71% of the *Argonautica* is spoken by "the poet" rather than one of the characters, whereas the figure for the *Iliad* is

[75] Cf. *Po.* 1459a 19 (with Lucas' note); *De subl.* 9.13 (cited above).

55% and for the *Odyssey* only 33% (as books 9–12 are entirely in the mouth of Odysseus).[76] So too, the constant presence of a commentating and often ironising poet, "like the sheep dog who barks and nudges his flock down the path",[77] is entirely foreign to the Aristotelian ideal of a poet "who lets his characters do the talking". On the other hand, the *Argonautica* seems to make important use of the dramatic tradition itself.[78] It was a commonplace of ancient scholarship, as also for Plato and Aristotle, that Homer was the forerunner of tragedy, if not in fact the first tragedian,[79] and tragedy's engagement with, and often apparent avoidance of engagement with, Homer will have given tragedy a privileged status for epic poets; the most familiar result of this status is the "tragedy of Dido" in the *Aeneid*.[80]

To what extent books 1 and 2 of the *Argonautica* are "dramatic" is, of course, a question where difference of opinion is legitimate. It might be thought that scenes such as the leavetaking between Jason and Alkimede and the meetings of Hypsipyle and Jason not only exploit and evoke Homer (the mourning for Hektor, the meeting of Odysseus and Nausikaa etc.) but are also shaped in such a way as to suggest "drama"; other scenes also, most notably perhaps the Phineus-episode, seem indebted to Attic tragedy.[81] It is, however, the character of Medea in books 3 and 4 which acts as the catalyst for the poem's closest reproduction of the tragic manner, and this is hardly surprising. Euripides' *Medea* was one of his most famous and most often performed plays,[82] and it is the events of that play in which, as we are often reminded, the "success" of the epic quest will end. The angry confrontation betwen Medea and Jason (4.350–420) clearly evokes the *agon* of Euripides' play, as the murder of Apsyrtos may reflect similar narratives in tragedy.[83] So too suggestive parallels with Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* have been identified, and it is clear

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[76] Cf. Hunter (1993a) 138–9.

[77] Beye (1982) 13.

[78] Cf. Nishimura-Jensen (1996).

[79] Cf. N. J. Richardson, *CQ* 30 (1980) 270–1: "The idea of Homer as a tragedian underlies much of the language used by the Scholia, especially when they are discussing vividly dramatic scenes and those which arouse emotion (πάθος, οἶκτος, ἔλεος etc.). τραγῳδεῖν and ἐκτραγῳδεῖν are commonly used, although they often mean little more than 'to represent dramatically'".

[80] For a survey and bibliography cf. Hardie (1997a) 312–26.

[81] Cf. Vian (^{2}1976) 142–9.

[82] Cf. Page's edition lvii–lxviii; Séchan (1926) 396–422.

[83] Cf. Porter (1990).

that Medea and Iphigenia were partial analogues of each other in some mythical traditions.[84] It is book 3, however, where the sense of "drama" is most palpable (and the proportion of direct speech by characters higher than anywhere else in the poem): the intriguing of the Colchian sisters immediately recalls the pairs of sisters in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra*, and it is in fact all but certain that Apollonius makes important use here of Sophocles' lost *Colchian Women*.[85] So too Aietes, the cruel and suspicious despot, probably owes not a little to the stage tradition of the tyrant. Book 3 is also marked by a relative fixity of place: but for the scene on Olympus, all the action takes place in or near Aia, and the comings-and-goings in the palace seem deliberately designed to evoke the confined stage-settings of drama. If, then, some aspects of book 4, such as the predominance of τὸ μυθικόν, seem designed to pull the epic away from what may well have been seen as narrative virtues in the critical traditions available to Apollonius and his readers, book 3 foregrounds the relation between epic and drama in a manner which (broadly speaking) moves in a rather different generic direction. Such stylistic unevenness may itself be thought characteristic of Hellenistic poetic experimentation.

4

Despite Aristotle's rejection of the idea that writing about *one* man can give *oneness* to a poem, Achilles, Odysseus and Aeneas do all appear by name or periphrasis in the opening verse of their epics, as also does Callimachus' Hekale, Ἀκταίη τις. Jason, however, does not enter the *Argonautica* until the explanatory narrative of 1.5–17, and is never as central to Apollonius' poem as Achilles or Odysseus or Aeneas are to theirs;[86] nowhere is this difference between the organisation of the Homeric and Apollonian poems more visible than in the relatively small role which Jason plays in the complex events of the fourth book.[87] The prominent announcement (1.20–2) and position of the Catalogue reinforces the statement of the opening

[84] Cf. D. Sansone, "Iphigenia in Colchis" in Harder – Regtuit – Wakker (2000).
[85] Cf. Campbell (1983a) 41–2; Hunter (1989a) 19.
[86] For the history of "the hero" in critical approaches to the epic cf. Feeney (1986a) 137–58.
[87] Cf., e.g., Köhnken (2000).

verse that the subject of the poem will be παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν, "the glorious deeds of men of old"; so too, it is the whole collective of Argonauts to whom the poet bids farewell at the end of the poem, as the singer of the *Homeric Hymns* bids farewell to the god who has been the subject of his song. We may wish to see the group of Argonauts taking the place of "the central hero",[88] or prefer to see the poem as the story of an action, the bringing of the Golden Fleece to Greece, but the plurality of Argonauts imposes its own shape upon the generic pattern. We must be wary of over-interpreting the difference between Apollonius and Homer in this matter, but it is important that other epic models were also available to Apollonius.[89] Thus, the *Epigonoi* ("Descendants" [of those who fought at Thebes]) began νῦν αὖθ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι, "Now again, Muses, let us begin to sing of younger men" (fr. 1 Davies), which might be thought to have had some influence upon Apollonius' opening παλαιγενέων . . . φωτῶν. Although "younger men" may be seen as virtually equivalent to "descendants" and so this verse is not in fact parallel to Apollonius' "generic" opening,[90] nevertheless such a poem, like the "cyclic" *Nostoi*, is parallel to the *Argonautica* in having a plurality of "heroes" built into its very structure. So too, the *Thebais* clearly had a rich cast of warriors,[91] and its opening verse, Ἄργος ἄειδε θεὰ πολυδίψιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες, "Sing, goddess, of thirsty Argos from which the lords . . ." (fr. 1 Davies), points to this multiplicity.

The "cyclic" epics found critical favour neither with Aristotle nor, if *Ep.* 28 Pf. ("I hate the cyclic poem . . .") is anything to go on, with Callimachus. How precisely the term κυκλικόν is to be glossed and to which poems it applies are matters of very considerable debate,[92] but the central specimens of the type were clearly poems such as the *Cypria*, the *Aithiopis*, the *Little Iliad* and the *Nostoi* which "completed" Homer (or at least appeared to do so, when viewed from the perspective of later ages) by telling the stories of what happened before, between and after the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; some (if not all) were, like the *Argonautica*, very much shorter than the Homeric

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[88] So Carspecken (1952).

[89] One of the few modern discussions to take the relation between the *Argonautica* and the "cyclic" epics seriously is Albis (1996), cf. 5, 7, 24–5.

[90] Cf. above 93.

[91] Helpful survey in Davies (1989) 23–9.

[92] Cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 230; Cameron (1995) 394–9; Davies (1989) 1–8.

poems. The *Argonautica* is not on a Trojan theme, but deals with what, together with the Theban story, is the most prominent mythic complex set "before the Trojan War" and one to which Homer's Kirke herself famously refers (*Od.* 12.69–72); the link between the two stories is plainest in the figure of the Argonaut Peleus, Achilles' father, and is dramatised at 1.557–8 where the infant Achilles is shown to his father as the expedition sets off. Argonautic material played a prominent role in the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelos (? c. 700 B.C.) and the anonymous *Naupactia*, both of which Apollonius seems to have used;[93] it would not, therefore, be difficult to see the Argonautic story as (in some senses) a "cyclic" one. Moreover, much of what happens in Apollonius' poem has closer affinities to what modern scholars regard as typically "cyclic" than to Homeric poetry.[94]

As far as we can judge, superhuman abilities, such as the vision of a Lynkeus[95] or the (virtual) invulnerability of a Kaineus (1.57–64) or a Talos, were familiar "cyclic" motifs.[96] Such characteristics are, of course, almost normal among the Argonauts. So too, the magical and the supernatural seem to have been far more prominent in the cyclic poems than in (most of) Homer; Medea's lulling of the dragon or Kirke's purificatory magic would be perfectly at home in such a poetic context, and for some of the "fantastical" tales which are recorded in the *Argonautica* a cyclic version and/or origin is known.[97] So too the treacherous killing of Apsyrtos and the "grotesque" *maschalismos* performed by Jason on the young man's corpse more easily find cyclic than Homeric counterparts; at a different aesthetic level, the apparent prominence of erotic romance in what we know of the Cycle has often been remarked, and the whole business of Zeus' desire for Thetis, which plays such a prominent role at 4.790–816, almost certainly owes an extensive debt to the *Cypria*.[98]

[93] Cf. Hunter (1989a) 15–16 with bibliography. It is a great pity that we do not know more of the probably archaic poem from which P. Oxy. 3698 derives; the broken column offers Orpheus, Jason, Mopsus and talk of νόστος and probably marriage.

[94] The most helpful modern discussion is Griffin (1977) 39–53; cf. more briefly Davies (1989) 9–10.

[95] Cf. *Cypria* fr. 13 Davies.

[96] For Lynkeus cf. *Cypria* fr. 13 Davies; for the invulnerability motif as it relates to the "cyclic" Achilles and Ajax cf. Davies (1989) 58–61.

[97] For Zeus' mating with Philyra in the shape of a horse (2.1231–41) cf. *Titanomachia* fr. 9 Davies.

[98] Cf. *Cypria* fr. 2 Davies, Vian (^{2}1996) 175–6. From the point of view of the

It was the same poem which was the principal epic source for the character of the blasphemous Idas[99] who appears from time to time in the *Argonautica* to express his displeasure like a frustrated reader. More important perhaps than cataloguing the cyclic forerunners of individual stories and motifs is the overall impression of a poem which revels in much that has no real Homeric analogue, even where verbal echo of the Homeric poems predominates. It is not too much, I think, to view Apollonius' epic as a cyclic poem done in the "modern" (? Callimachean) style, which is not, of course, to say that it is the object of Callimachus' distaste in *Ep.* 28; what Callimachus actually thought (or would have thought) of the *Argonautica*, we have no idea, though the extent of the material common to the two poets (whatever priority is preferred) suggests shared aesthetic goals, rather than hostility.

Argonautica (and Catullus 64), the loss of Nestor's account of Theseus and Ariadne in the *Cypria* (31.38–9 Davies) is keenly felt.

[99] Cf. fr. 14, 31.28–31 Davies.

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APOLLONIUS RHODIUS AS "INVENTOR" OF THE INTERIOR MONOLOGUE

Massimo Fusillo

1

In their pre-narratological summa of western narrative techniques, *The Nature of Narrative*, Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg affirm that the merit of inventing the interior monologue belongs to Apollonius Rhodius, who is, in their opinion, a narrative artist far from having the reputation he deserves.[1] In Scholes and Kellogg's definition, interior monologue is more a topos than a narrative device, and they single out six features transmitted by Apollonius to the western tradition. It always depicts: (1) a woman; (2) who is in love; (3) who passes through a crisis; (4) who is divided between moral justice and erotic desire; (5) who has no one she can confide in; (6) who commits (or tries to commit) suicide. In fact one can find a series of constants from Virgil's Dido to certain heroines in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, from the Greek novel to Chaucer's *Troylus and Criseyde* and Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina.* However, it is perhaps unwarranted to ascribe to Apollonius the actual invention of such a formal device, since the basic stock of narrative techniques comes to him (and to the entire western canon) directly from the Homeric epic. His creativity lies, rather, in the areas of re-motivation, amplification, and symbolic connotation. If we speak in terms of abstract forms, the interior monologue is merely a very specific case of one of the three basic techniques that can be used by a narrator to report a character's speech: according to Gérard Genette's typology it would come under the heading of "referred discourse" (*discours rapporté*), in which the narrator directly quotes the character's words.[2] This is the most mimetic technique, which has characterized the epic as a mixed form of dramatic and narrative elements ever since Plato's time. Or, if

[1] Scholes-Kellogg (1966) 181–2.
[2] Genette (1972) 189–93.

we turn to the more specific typology proposed by Dorrit Cohn, which is limited to the presentation of consciousness in narrative, interior monologue is seen as a specific case of "quoted monologue", that is a "character's mental discourse",[3] a technique which is widely used in every kind of narrative, from Homer to the modern novel, in order to communicate to the reader the thoughts, emotions and inner life of the characters.

It is well known that literary criticism usually ascribes to the interior monologue another date of birth, 1887, when the French symbolist writer Eduard Dujardin published *Les lauriers sont coupés*, a short novel consisting exclusively of a monologue in which the main character reveals his thoughts and emotions. It was notably James Joyce who recognised Dujardin as the inventor of this technique, which is widely used in many parts of *Ulysses*, especially in Molly Bloom's long final monologue. Joyce thus preferred to take an obscure novelist as a model, rather than to attempt other, riskier solutions such as might be suggested by the relatively new science of psychoanalysis, of which he was rather suspicious.[4] Responding to Joyce's declarations and the suggestions of the prominent French critic and writer Valéry Larbaud, Dujardin wrote, in 1931, an essay entitled *Le monologue intérieur*, which gives the following definition:

> Le monologue intérieur est, dans l'ordre de la poésie, le discours sans auditeur et non prononcé, par lequel un personnage exprime sa pensée la plus intime, la plus proche de l'inconscient, antérieurement à toute organisation logique, c'est-à-dire en son état naissant, par le moyen de phrases directes réduites au minimum syntaxial, de façon à donner l'impression 'tout venant'.[5]

Even in this case, from an abstract and typological point of view, we do not have a new form, but a simple variation. Genette calls it "immediate discourse" (*discours immédiat*) because of its basic lack of any narrative mediation.[6] The challenge involved in using such a device lies in trying to communicate to the reader the pre-speech level in its magmatic and alogical configuration.

The two very different dates of birth attributed to the interior monologue correspond of course to two different narrative traditions.

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[3] Cohn (1978) 11–5, esp. 12.
[4] Cf. De Benedetti (1971) 594–616.
[5] Dujardin (1931) §2 (= [1977] 230).
[6] Genette (1972) 193.

The type "invented" by Apollonius is always tragic and sublime. It is entirely focused on a psychic conflict and an important crisis of decision, and is dominated by strong rhetorical stylization. The type "invented" by Dujardin and made famous by Joyce, also called "stream of consciousness", has on the contrary a marked everyday-life nature. It describes no decisive tragic conflict, and is characterized by a fragmented style.[7]

One can, of course, find points of contact between the two traditions. We will see how certain Apollonian stylistic solutions seem to prefigure the alogical stream, while authors like Schnitzler in *Fräulein Else* make a clear contamination between the two. From a historical point of view the turning point appears to be Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina.* The heroine's last monologue before her famous suicide inherits on one hand the ancient epic tradition that goes back to Apollonius and especially to Virgil's Dido, consciously imitated. On the other hand it shows remarkable pre-Joycean elements in its fragmented perception of metropolitan life. In any case, in spite of the various anticipations and contaminations, the two traditions, which obviously have very different historical backgrounds, must be clearly distinguished. We will refer to the first, Apollonian one as "interior monologue", and the second, Joycean one as "stream of consciousness".

2

The two Homeric poems quite frequently use monologues to describe the inner life of the characters (although the very concept of "inner life" always has a problematic aspect in archaic culture). Usually these monologues show a strict formalization, although there are many nuances and some significant exceptions.[8] In the *Iliad* we find,

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[7] On the historical development of stream of consciousness see Moretti (1994) 152–69, who links the Joycean technique to the Freudian "preconscious", while the traditional interior monologue can be linked to the emergence of unconscious and repressed matters.

[8] On Homeric monologues the first and basic contribution is Hentze (1904), who states a too rigid distinction between description ("betrachtend") and meditation monologues ("erwägend"). On the four more formalized decision monologues see Voigt (1934), still deeply influenced by Bruno Snell's famous and controversial conception of Homeric psychology (there should be no real monologue, but a dialogue between autonomous parts of personality); and the completely different analyses by

first of all, a pattern of monologues which illustrate the act of making a decision. The hero analyzes two alternatives of action in a dubitative way, and then, after a formulaic verse, chooses the best one. But this rather rigid pattern shifts from a very simple and linear version (*Il.* 11.404–10 Odysseus; 17.91–105 Menelaos) to a more complex one, where the alternatives become three and show interesting expansions (*Il.* 21.553–70 Agenor; 22.99–130 Hektor). There is then a second pattern which is based upon the perception and evaluation of a new situation, usually still connected with a pragmatic choice. Two examples belonging to this second pattern, both characterized by the death theme, have a particularly pregnant nature. Their effective brevity seems to reproduce the rise of thoughts and emotions thanks to the lack of a logical syntactical articulation and to the use of paratactical and nominal phrases: they really sound like the embryo of the modern stream of consciousness. In the first of these, Hektor reacts to the frustration caused by the disappearance of Deiphobos and the consequent sensation of being tragically close to death (*Il.* 22.297–305). The second involves the poem's main character, Achilles, whose emotionalism dominates a large part of the narration. This is the Homeric monologue which is closest to those of Apollonius. It can be defined as an interior monologue if we intend by this expression not the tradition singled out by Scholes and Kellogg, but a narrative form representing a character's emotional life and released by a strong pragmatic finality, such as the need to make a decision, an element which is present in most of the other Homeric monologues (including the last one by Hektor) (*Il.* 18.5–15):

> ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
> "ὤμοι ἐγώ, τί τ' ἄρ' αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
> νηυσὶν ἔπι κλονέονται ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο;
> μὴ δή μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ,
> ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε, καί μοι ἔειπε
> Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἔτι ζώοντος ἐμεῖο
> χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο.
> ἦ μάλα δὴ τέθνηκε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός,
> σχέτλιος· ἦ τ' ἐκέλευον ἀπωσάμενον δήϊον πῦρ
> ἂψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἴμεν, μηδ' Ἕκτορι ἶφι μάχεσθαι."
> Ἧος ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν . . .

Petersmann (1974) and Fenik (1978). In general on all kinds of monologues see the contributions by Medda (1983) 11–57; Di Benedetto (1994) 158–74.

Disturbed, Achilleus spoke to the spirit in his own great heart:
"Ah me, how is that once again the flowing-haired Achaians
are driven out of the plain on their ships in fear and confusion?
May the gods not accomplish vile sorrows upon the heart in me
in the way my mother once made it clear to me, when she told me
how while I yet lived the bravest of all the Myrmidons
must leave the light of the sun beneath the hands of the Trojans.
Surely, then, the strong son of Menoitios has perished.
Unhappy! And yet I told him, once he had beaten the fierce fire
Off, to come back to the ships, not fight in strength against Hektor."
Now as he was pondering this in his heart and his spirit... (transl. R. Lattimore)

Achilles' central position in the *Iliad* largely involves his intense relationship with Patroklos. In the pivotal moment of the plot, immediately before he hears the tragic news of his friend's death, the interior monologue expresses his emotional foreboding. This is an almost unique case in Homer of a monologue totally focused on a character's mental discourse.[9]

Generally speaking, in the *Odyssey* we find a use of monological techniques similar to those of the *Iliad*, but with a preference for the short monologue describing the rise of thoughts and almost lacking in the process of making a decision.[10] Two important examples are Odysseus' frustrated reaction to the tempest in the fifth book (*Od.* 5.299–312), and his famous dialogue with his heart (*Od.* 20.18–21), both focused on the main character's emotional life. But the most interesting one, especially from the point of view of possible links to Apollonius, involves Odysseus' wife. Penelope's monologue at her awakening expresses, with a precious stylistic texture rich in alliteration and enjambement, her desire for death, linked to a strong erotic nostalgia (*Od.* 18.200–05):

καί ῥ' ἀπομόρξατο χερσὶ παρειὰς φώνησέν τε·
"ἦ με μάλ' αἰνοπαθῆ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυψεν.
αἴθε μοι ὣς μαλακὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἁγνὴ
αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα μηκέτ' ὀδυρομένη κατὰ θυμὸν
αἰῶνα φθινύθω, πόσιος ποθέουσα φίλοιο
παντοίην ἀρετήν, ἐπεὶ ἔξοχος ἦεν Ἀχαιῶν."

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[9] Di Benedetto (1994) 169–70 speaks of "sperimentazioni formali" and of "esasperata emotività"; see also Scully (1984) 19, who generally stresses "the uniqueness of Achilles".
[10] See Petersmann (1974) 157–65.

> She rubbed her cheeks with both her hands, and spoke aloud, saying:
> "That was a strange thing, that soft sleep, that shrouded me.
> How I wish chaste Artemis would give me a death so
> soft, and now, so I would not go on in my heart grieving
> all my life, and longing for love of a husband excellent
> in every virtue, since he stood out among the Achaians." (transl. R. Lattimore)

Thus we have once again a monologue whose essential function is to give poetic space to a character's inner life, without a strict formalized structure and with an unusual effect of immediacy.

3

With their clear focus on emotionality, the two last Homeric examples we have quoted—Achilles' and Penelope's monologues—are the basic starting point for Apollonius' "invention". However, far from being mere episodic means of characterization, as was the case in the archaic epic, Medea's three monologues in the third book of the *Argonautica* assume a new semantic relief, contributing to the Apollonian transformation of the epic genre. Taken from Euripides' tragedy, but further developed and refined, the element of inner conflict becomes central to the whole narration: Medea is no mere magical adjuvant, but a true main character. If the interior monologues we pointed out in Homer are basically exceptions to the prevalence of pragmatic aspects in both of his poems, Apollonius' epic appears on the contrary to be completely dominated by psychological factors: he always focuses on the emotional reactions to an event rather than on its fulfilment. This general feature can be clearly observed in some famous scenes, characterized by frustration and melancholy and by the total absence of pragmatic finality: Iphia's kiss in the first book (1.311–4); Apollo's epiphany, Sthenelos' appearance from Hades, and the torture of Prometheus in the second (1.674–85, 911–23, 1246–59); the failed encounter with the Amazons in the second (1.985–1000) and with Herakles in the fourth (1.1461–84).[11] From this point of view the narration of Medea's inner story is simply the most evident example of a deep and general trend.

[11] Cf. Händel (1954) 46–9; Herter (1955) 314–5; Fusillo (1985) 266–71.

The narrative technique of the third book becomes rather more sophisticated, based on a complex of simultaneous actions. The action takes place in three basic spaces: Medea's room, the Argonauts' camp and Aietes' palace, while Phrixos' sons act as mediators. This division creates a significant contrast between Medea's absolute solipsism on one hand, and collective dialogical dynamics on the other. All the scenes devoted to the heroine have a fine elaboration. They culminate in the monologue, and together form a fascinating crescendo. Immediately after the choral scene in which Aietes orders Jason to provide the impossible proof, the narrator focalizes on Medea's erotic suffering; at the end of this long subjective sequence, which we will deal with later, we find the first monologue (*Arg.* 3.463–71):

> Ἦκα δὲ μυρομένη, λιγέως ἀνενείκατο μῦθον·
> "Τίπτε με δειλαίην τόδ' ἔχει ἄχος; Εἴ θ' ὅ γε πάντων
> φθείσεται ἡρώων προφερέστατος εἴ τε χερείων,
> ἐρρέτω... Ἦ μὲν ὄφελλεν ἀκήριος ἐξαλέασθαι.
> Ναὶ δὴ τοῦτό γε, πότνα θεὰ Περσηί, πέλοιτο,
> οἴκαδε νοστήσειε φυγὼν μόρον· εἰ δέ μιν αἶσα
> δμηθῆναι ὑπὸ βουσί, τόδε προπάροιθε δαείη,
> οὕνεκεν οὔ οἱ ἔγωγε κακῇ ἐπαγαίομαι ἄτῃ."
> Ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς ἐόλητο νόον μελεδήμασι κούρη.

> She wept softly and sobbed in lamentation: "Alas, why do I feel this grief? Whether he will die as the very best of all heroes or quite worthless, let him perish! Ah, if only he could have escaped safe... Please, lady goddess, daughter of Perses, let this happen, let him escape death and return home. But if it is his fate to be killed by the bulls, may he first know that I at least take no pleasure in his awful destruction". So the young girl's mind was tortured by love's cares. (transl. R. Hunter)

From a stylistic point of view we already find here important constants that will characterize the tradition of both interior monologue and stream of consciousness: parataxis, self-questions, absence of a logical consequentiality, emotional pathos, effect of immediacy and associative presentification.[12] Noteworthy from a thematic point of view is the strong interconnection between the language of repression and the language of desire, which recalls the Freudian concept of *Kompromissvorstellung*.[13] After the topos-like Homeric introductory

[12] For a stylistic analysis of Apollonius' monologues see Campbell (1994) 376 *ad* 464–70.

[13] Paduano (1972) 19–22.

interjection, still varied by Apollonian allusive art, Medea begins in fact her monologue with an aggressive curse: an ἐρρέτω which recalls one of Achilles' describing monologues in the *Iliad* (20.349)[14] and which will be re-echoed and further developed in the third monologue. But if the Homeric hero uses the expression merely to protest against an unexplicable event, its use in Apollonius is much more complex. The passionate nature of the curse already reveals the presence of censorship: it is a Freudian negation which affirms a strong unauthorized desire. This is clearly confirmed by the subsequent exclamation (3.466), wishing for Jason's salvation. Here we have another stylistic feature that will remain constant in ancient and modern interior monologues: an abrupt passage from one topic to the opposite one, with flagrant self-contradiction. The technique "invented" by Apollonius is in fact particularly apt for the expression of unconscious logic, the "symmetrical" logic which does not acknowledge the Aristotelian principle of non-contradiction.[15] Modern editors often use suspension points to highlight the sudden break of the end of this passage—the same solution that will be used by modern writers of interior monologues (together with other graphic experiments, such as Faulkner's extraordinary poetic use of italics, or the total lack of punctuation that is often associated with stream of consciousness). After this first immediate and almost unconscious exclamation, the expression of desire becomes much stronger in the second part of the monologue: from the unreal ὄφελλεν to the potential mood of πέλοιτο, and to the culmination point of imagining a possible contact and communication. At the same time censorship is still very active—in the idea that Jason might go back to his native country, and in the final wonderful litotes, a true *Kompromissvorstellung* between the forces of repression and the forces of the repressed, condensing the ambiguous meaning of the whole passage. The brevity of this first monologue recalls the Homeric perception monologues, especially the one by Penelope quoted above, but the Apollonian re-

[14] "A somewhat coarse word" according to Campbell ([1994] 378), who quotes Macleod's commentary on *Il.* 24.239. Hunter's commentary quotes as close parallel *Od.* 5.139–40, which does not come from a monologue, but from the speech of "a bitter Calypso about Odysseus".

[15] On this kind of logic, which can be only verbalized by Aristotelian dominant asymmetrical logic through intermediate concepts such as the infinite, see Matte Blanco (1978); for an application of this interpretative model to Apollonian monologues see Paduano (1985).

writing has a remarkable new depth, which also includes an element of decision: the reference to Hekate is in fact a prefiguration of the magical help Medea will give to Jason.

After two long scenes which strongly characterize the two other actors of Medea's story—Jason's ἀμηχανία and Aietes' oppressive power—the second monologue inaugurates the second day of the central episode. It expresses the heroine's emotional reaction to her dream, which is by the way another impressive Apollonian innovation. Influenced by the medical research of his contemporary, Herophilus—an interesting figure quoted by Freud himself as a precursor of his own interpretation of dreams—Apollonius creates in fact a true dream of desire, absolutely unique in all of ancient poetry.[16] Medea dreams what psychic censorship and social constraints do not yet allow her to admit that she desires: that the stranger has come because of her and will fight to marry her, and that she will choose him against her parents' will. At this point of the action the monologue is necessarily a self-analysis of disclosed unconscious feelings (*Arg.* 3. 634–44):

μόλις δ' ἐσαγείρατο θυμὸν
ὡς πάρος ἐν στέρνοις, ἀδινὴν δ' ἀνενείκατο φωνήν·
"Δειλὴ ἐγών, οἷόν με βαρεῖς ἐφόβησαν ὄνειροι.
Δείδια μὴ μέγα δή τι φέρῃ κακὸν ἥδε κέλευθος
ἡρώων. Περί μοι ξείνῳ φρένες ἠερέθονται.—
Μνάσθω ἑὸν κατὰ δῆμον Ἀχαιίδα τηλόθι κούρην·
ἄμμι δὲ παρθενίη τε μέλοι καὶ δῶμα τοκήων.—
Ἔμπα γε μήν, θεμένη κύνεον κέαρ, οὐκέτ' ἄνευθεν
αὐτοκασιγνήτης πειρήσομαι, εἴ κέ μ' ἀέθλῳ
χραισμεῖν ἀντιάσῃσιν, ἐπὶ σφετέροις ἀχέουσα
παισί· τό κέν μοι λυγρὸν ἐνὶ κραδίῃ σβέσοι ἄλγος."

With a struggle she gathered again the spirit in her breast and spoke in sobs of lamentation: "Alas, how frightening are these grim dreams! I fear that this expedition of heroes may cause some terrible disaster. How the stranger has set my heart fluttering! Let him woo an Achaian girl far off among his own people: maidenhood and my parents' home should be my concern! All the same, however, I shall banish shame

[16] Cf. the threefold dream typology by Herophilus fr. 226b von Staden (= Ps.-Plu. *Placita* 5.2), quoted by Freud in a note added to the fourth edition of the *Traumdeutung* ([1914] 130 n. 1); on the whole question see Fusillo (1994); the specific contribution by Kessels (1982) defends the traditional proleptic nature of this dream, but prolepsis is in fact a totally interiorized element. On the extreme novelty of the Apollonian dream see Fränkel (1968) 364; see also Zanker (1987) 3 and 75 n. 73.

> from my heart and, no longer remaining apart, I shall test my sister to see whether she will beg me to offer help in the contest, panicked as she is for her sons. This will quench the bitter pain in my heart." (transl. R. Hunter)

The initial topos-like interjection is here extended, by developing the theme of fear, while the abrupt juxtaposition of thoughts is amplified by asyndeton. The first monologue began with an aggressive negation of desire, followed by a pathetic and spontaneous exclamation which negated the previous statement. Since desire has meanwhile become much more explicit thanks to the experience of the dream, here the order is reversed: first we have a clear acknowledgment of erotic involvement (3.638), immediately followed by a tribute to the forces of repression, now explicitly focused on basic oppositions such as marriage/virginity, stranger/native. In this case, too, modern editors highlight the abrupt mental wavering using a graphic device, the slash, which is likewise used by many modern authors of interior monologues, for example Arthur Schnitzler. The second part is devoted to pragmatic aspects: compared to the mention of Hekate in the first monologue, actually a minimal element, here the decision to help Jason is much more thoroughly developed. This does not yet mean, of course, a free and autonomous choice: censorhip still forces Medea to use the alibi of her sister's sons, again veiling the expression of her desire. But the last verse clearly shows the emotional nature of this alibi, confirming at the same time the intermingling in the Apollonian monologues of the two basic Homeric patterns, decision and perception.[17]

In any case pragmatic aspects still remain completely in the background: the semantic centre of the Colchian episode is Medea's psychic conflict, not her contribution to the conquest of the Golden Fleece. Her tormented decision to go to Chalkiope, taken at the end of the second monologue, is negated immediately afterwards by a complete mental block, described by the narrator as a conflict between αἰδώς and ἵμερος and finally solved by an external intervention. Even after the long dialogue with her sister, and therefore after her promise to help Jason, Medea's psychological situation is far from being less anguished. On the contrary, the tribute given to repressed desire has to be counterbalanced by an increasing repression. She goes back

[17] On this basic feature see Paduano (1972) 23–27.

to her solipsistic room and falls into an even more desperate ἀμηχανία. At this point in the plot we have the third and last monologue, the only one that Scholes and Kellogg consider a true interior monologue,[18] the first of a long, rich literary tradition (*Arg.* 3.770–801):

Ἑζομένη δήπειτα δοάσσατο φώνησέν τε·
"Δειλὴ ἐγώ, νῦν ἔνθα κακῶν ἢ ἔνθα γένωμαι,
πάντῃ μοι φρένες εἰσὶν ἀμήχανοι, οὐδέ τις ἀλκὴ
πήματος, ἀλλ' αὔτως φλέγει ἔμπεδον. ὡς ὄφελόν γε
Ἀρτέμιδος κραιπνοῖσι πάρος βελέεσσι δαμῆναι,
πρὶν τόν γ' εἰσιδέειν, πρὶν Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι
Χαλκιόπης υἷας· τοὺς μὲν θεὸς ἤ τις Ἐρινὺς
ἄμμι πολυκλαύτους δεῦρ' ἤγαγε κεῖθεν ἀνίας.
φθείσθω ἀεθλεύων, εἴ οἱ κατὰ νειὸν ὀλέσθαι
μοῖρα πέλει. πῶς γάρ κεν ἐμοὺς λελάθοιμι τοκῆας
φάρμακα μησαμένη; ποῖον δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἐνίψω;
τίς δὲ δόλος, τίς μῆτις ἐπίκλοπος ἔσσετ' ἀρωγῆς;
ἦ μιν ἄνευθ' ἑτάρων προσπτύξομαι οἶον ἰδοῦσα;
δύσμορος, οὐ μὲν ἔολπα καταφθιμένοιό περ ἔμπης
λωφήσειν ἀχέων· τότε δ' ἂν κακὸν ἄμμι πέλοιτο
κεῖνος, ὅτε ζωῆς ἀπαμείρεται. ἐρρέτω αἰδώς,
ἐρρέτω ἀγλαΐη· ὁ δ' ἐμῇ ἰότητι σαωθεὶς
ἀσκηθής, ἵνα οἱ θυμῷ φίλον, ἔνθα νέοιτο·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν αὐτῆμαρ, ὅτ' ἐξανύσειεν ἄεθλον,
τεθναίην, ἢ λαιμὸν ἀναρτήσασα μελάθρῳ
ἢ καὶ πασσαμένη ῥαιστήρια φάρμακα θυμοῦ.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς φθιμένῃ μοι ἐπιλλίξουσιν ὀπίσσω
κερτομίας· τηλοῦ δὲ πόλις περὶ πᾶσα βοήσει
πότμον ἐμόν· καί κέν με διὰ στόματος φορέουσαι
Κολχίδες ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι ἀεικέα μωμήσονται·
"ἥ τις κηδομένη τόσον ἀνέρος ἀλλοδαποῖο
κάτθανεν, ἥ τις δῶμα καὶ οὓς ᾔσχυνε τοκῆας,
μαργοσύνῃ εἴξασα." τί δ' οὐκ ἐμὸν ἔσσεται αἶσχος;
ὤ μοι ἐμῆς ἄτης. ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη
τῇδ' αὐτῇ ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βίον ἐν θαλάμοισι,
πότμῳ ἀνωίστῳ, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν,
πρὶν τάδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι."

Full of doubt she sat down and said: "Alas, which of these miseries am I to choose? My mind is utterly at a loss, nor can I find any way to stop the pain: it burns constantly, always the same! Would that I had first been killed by Artemis' swift arrows before I saw him, before Chalkiope's sons reached the Achaian land. From there a god or some Fury brought them here to cause me much weeping and grief. Let

[18] Scholes-Kellogg (1966) 182.

> him die in the contest, if it is his fate to perish in the ploughland! For if I devised aid with my drugs, how could my parents fail to notice? What could I say? What trick, what concealed plan can help them? Shall I meet him alone, without his companions? Ah, I do not imagine that even his death will stop the terrible ache; that is just when he will bring me pain, when he no longer lives! Away with shame, away with fine reputation! My efforts shall save him, and then he may go off safe wherever he wishes; on that very day, when he has accomplished the task, may I find death, either hanging myself from the ridge-beam or swallowing drugs which crush out life. But even after my death they will mock and reproach me in the future; the whole city will scream of my fate far off, and wherever they go the Colchian women will speak of me and accuse me of shamelessness, 'she who cared so much for a foreign man that she died, who disgraced her home and her parents in giving way to her lust'. Of what disgrace will I not be accused? Alas, for my mad folly! Much better would it be to end my life here in my room on this very night, in a death without explanation, and thus to escape all the bitter accusations before doing these awful, unimaginable things." (transl. R. Hunter)

Here the structure is obviously less linear and more complex. It is dominated by a fragmentation of thoughts and emotions, particularly evident in the paratactical accumulation of self-questions. Medea begins by describing her psychological situation, and then proceeds abruptly to the imperative φθείσθω, which is parallel to the aggressive ἐρρέτω against Jason in the first monologue and to the μνάσθω in the second[19]—these three expressions of distance latently affirm, by contrast, a desire for closeness. Nevertheless there is an important difference between the three passages, apart from a different degree of verbal violence. Since Medea has already taken her decision and promised her help to Chalkiope, the expression in this monologue sounds like an act of repentance. Whether Jason dies or not now depends totally on her divided self. According to the usual oscillation, the subsequent series of self-questions is a counterbalance of repressed forces: the interrogative form barely veils the pragmatic decision to achieve her plans and communicate directly with Jason.

The pathetic exclamation of 3.783 marks a new incipit. The malediction against shame and fame is now a clearly reversed echo of the curse against Jason in the first monologue. From the point of view of plot evolution this reversal obviously means that Medea has

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[19] Cf. Paduano (1985) 42, stressing the common dependence from Euripidean χαιρέτω βουλεύματα of Medea's famous monologue (E. *Med.* 1044).

now overcome her social and psychic constraints, and will give her decisive contribution to the Argonauts' enterprise and to the conquest of the Golden Fleece. But plot evolution does not really interest Apollonius.[20] After this exclamation shame and fame are still very powerful, and we can agree with Paduano when he states that this malediction, the ἐρρέτω of 3.785–6, is in fact a Freudian negation like the previous one against Jason, the ἐρρέτω of 3.466.[21] The Freudian nature of the negation is confirmed in the last part of the monologue, which is far from being the triumphant exultation of a girl in love, finally free from any kind of constraint. On the contrary, it is totally dominated by anxiety, desperation, self-annihilation, frustration—by the typically Apollonian ἀμηχανία. Medea realizes that not even suicide will resolve her problem, or restore her reputation. Thanks to a second-degree dramatization, this provides a very impressive picture of the so-called shame culture, an archaic feature which has been passed down through the ages.[22] Like Euripides' Medea, who essentially fears the mockery of her enemies, the younger Apollonian Medea feels that fame is a basic ontological part of her person, and therefore she will always suffer for having betrayed her father and her country because of her love for a stranger. Repression and repressed are, according to Apollonius, two basic interior forces, both deeply rooted in her psyche. The coexistence of the two poles will be stressed by the narrator himself in the paradoxical proem of the fourth book, so often misread by critics.[23]

In Scholes and Kellogg's definition of the interior monologue, an important element from a thematic point of view is that the heroine's situation should be without escape. Although Medea finally decides to help Jason and elope with him, and not to commit suicide, the negative *Stimmung* of the last monologue will always follow her in the narration of the adventurous voyage to Greece, rich in its foreshadowing of the Euripidean tragedy. In fact there is no major difference with respect to the heroines who will come after her, whose

[20] The different nature of his epos has been convincingly sketched by Fränkel (1957).

[21] Paduano (1985) 42–3.

[22] See the classic work by Dodds (1957).

[23] They are notably divided into two groups, each one choosing one of the two poets' alternatives as ground for Medea's flight, fear or love. But the rhetorical *dubitatio* is just a wonderful way of formalizing a strong connection between the two elements: cf. Paduano (1985) 43–4; Hunter (1987) 134–8; Goldhill (1991) 293.

stories will all end with a tragic and sublime suicide—from her immediate descendant, Virgil's Dido, to a very distant one, Tolstoy's Anna Karenina, who is torn between social codes and love, and between her maternal role and her relationship with Vronsky. Their conflictuality is equally insoluble, and produces a deep sense of frustration.

Whatever the historical and cultural background, the interior monologue is a narrative form particularly suitable for representing the mental fluctuations of a divided self; monologues always contain in fact an element of splitting. Thanks to its fragmented and destructured style, the text thus reproduces the feverish clash of opposing psychic forces, and translates into words the unsustainable tension of contrasting thoughts and emotions.

4

How can we evaluate the "invention" of the interior monologue in the overall context of Apollonius' poem? First we have to notice the very strong relief that this technique receives from the point of view of narrative rhythm. Compared to the Homeric poems, which are dominated by a pure joy of narration, the *Argonautica* have a marked selectivity.[24] With a much smaller number of books (and total verses) Apollonius tells a much larger *fabula* than the one narrated in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This means of course a greater use of "summaries", i.e. narrative movements in which the plot time (*Erzählzeit*) goes much faster than the story time (*erzählte Zeit*).[25] The use of the opposite movement, the "scene", is on the contrary very moderate and always poetically and thematically motivated. Even within the individual scenes we find a designed choice of direct speeches.[26] Here is the biggest contrast with Homeric narrative technique, which makes such great use of direct speech as a means of characterization, giving unlimited space to the characters' voice. The *Iliad*, in fact, consists of forty-five per cent direct speech—a true character text which

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[24] On this critical concept central for Apollonian interpretation see the contribution by Jackson (1993).

[25] See Bentley (1947) 47–48; Booth (1961) 154.

[26] On Apollonius' scenes cf. Ibscher's dissertation (1939), characterized, however, by an ingenuous overevaluation of every direct speech; see the criticism by Herter (1955) 259–62.

flows parallel to the narrator text.[27] The examples of direct speeches in Apollonius, on the other hand, are always circumscribed, rarely with a true dialogical exchange. They provide a specimen of a more highly developed articulation, which is left to the reader's imagination.[28]

Apollonius' selectivity comes directly from Alexandrian poetics, with which he was basically in consonance.[29] The challenge for him was to adapt to the most ancient and canonical genre, the Homeric epic, the most modern narrative technique, i.e. the dense, elliptical and allusive style of "epyllia" and *aitia*.[30] Seen against this background, Medea's monologues assume a significant centrality. The scenes devoted to her inner struggle have in fact an absolutely unusual extended rhythm, which can be quantitatively analyzed, if we relate numbers of verses to chronological indications.[31] Her last, sleepless night has an especially remarkable expansion compared to the usual Apollonian standard of duration, becoming in reality the pivotal point of the whole poem. Apollonius was clearly conscious of his innovation, as we can see in the proem in the middle—a typical place for a programmatic declaration in ancient poetry.[32] After the anomalous invocation to Apollo in the first book, the invocation to Erato clarifies that eros is the poem's thematic novelty, which is deeply linked to the formal novelty of the interior monologue. Thanks to this new expressive means, Medea's falling in love and her psychic conflict become the semantic centre of the text, dominating completely every pragmatic aspect and every heroic deed. With an intentional paradox Gérard Genette affirms that Homer in the *Odyssey* had already reached the half-way point between the epic and the novel.[33] We can say here that by making eros central to his poem Apollonius went even further in the same direction. The *Argonautica* is in fact often defined as a romance, and its blend of love and adventure surely influenced the Greek novel.[34]

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[27] See De Jong (1987).

[28] Fusillo (1985) II B.

[29] On Alexandrian poetics and the specific role played by Apollonius see Schwinge (1986); Bing (1988); Hutchinson (1988).

[30] Cf. Klein (1974) 220 n. 8: "counter-genre within the epic itself".

[31] For this kind of analysis, inspired by Genette (1972), see Fusillo (1985) II A.

[32] Conte (1980).

[33] Genette (1982) 200.

[34] See Rohde (1876) 21, 105; García Gual (1972) 120–1; Heisermann (1977) 11–29; Beye (1982) 71–4; Anderson (1984) 4; Fusillo (1989) 26–7. On eros as an anti-heroic element from Apollonius through Virgil to Ariosto and Tasso, see Pavlock (1990).

We now touch upon an old, controversial point of Apollonian criticism. Is the lack of heroic and epic values to be considered a failing, or is the poem deliberately anti-heroic and anti-epic? The question involves especially the evaluation of Jason's role, but his weakness is exactly the reverse of Medea's strong centrality. We cannot deal here with this already much-debated issue,[35] but generally speaking the second explanation seems to be the appropriate one, especially if one does not overly stress the prefix anti- as a sign of a kind of avant-garde. To place at the centre of an epic poem an erotic theme and a female character's subjectivity is, of course, a great innovation compared to the Homeric poems' general reticence about such matters. But it is an innovation that is in consonance with the Hellenistic predilection for private and personal themes, and that is, in any case, consistent with certain themes of the *Odyssey* (the Nausikaa episode) and the Euripidean tragedy. It is not, therefore, a desecration or a rupturing of literary codes, but a modern and experimental rewriting of a canonical genre.

By stressing Medea's central role I may give the impression of resuming the old thesis which considers the third book an isolated jewel within an incoherent poem.[36] On the contrary, I am deeply convinced that the *Argonautica* has a highly unified structure. As Nyberg has recently argued, it is a unity produced on an emotional and connotative level, rather than a traditionally organic unity.[37] Alexandrian culture felt itself to be "posthumous" after a long and rich literary tradition.[38] There was a general trend to classify and arrange systematically all of Greek literature, exemplified at its best by the famous library. For this reason Apollonius, like other poets of the period, wanted to insert into his narration the largest possible amount of mythical, historiographical and ethnographical material. Together with this centrifugal force, we find, however, in the

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[35] After a long period of idealistic devaluation, Jason's character was fully rehabilitated in terms of intentional antiheroism especially by American criticism, beginning with Lawall (1966), who focused on the idea of a progressive *paideia*; see also Beye (1969); Klein (1983). More recently there has been quite a reaction against this interpretation, or at least against its excessive stressing of anti-heroism as an intentional strategy: see Vian (1978); Hunter (1988); Goldhill (1991) 313–6.

[36] Beginning with Sainte Beuve's famous article (1845).

[37] Nyberg (1992).

[38] On this critical concept, opposed to the more ludic postmodern, see Ferroni (1996).

Argonautica an equally strong centripetal force, which creates symbolic links between the different parts of the poem. In the slow progression of the outward journey, various episodes and digressions (from Lemnos to Kyzikos to the Amazons) thus foreshadow the story's central nucleus, stressing the positivity of love, the negativity of war, and the inversion of sexual roles as unifying themes.[39] On the other hand, the story of the adventurous and labyrinthine return voyage is unified by the element of fear and by a general, anguished *Stimmung*. Medea no longer plays a central role—her short monologue at the beginning of the fourth book is a kind of quotation of the previous dynamics—but the scenes where she is present resume that powerful mixture of love and sense of guilt which dominates the interior monologues. The erotic episode at the centre of the poem is therefore neither an extraneous insertion nor a playful contamination with other genres, but the most vital part of a refined and complex literary texture.

5

There is one last aspect of narrative technique that must now be analyzed because it is closely linked to the interior monologue: focalization. Narratology has clearly distinguished between: (a) the level of "who speaks?", i.e. all problems concerning the narrator's role; and (b) the level of "who perceives?", i.e. all problems concerning the Jamesian notion of "point of view", and the relationship between narrator and characters.[40] The interior monologue obviously belongs to the first level, and focalization to the second; but Apollonius exploited to the utmost both techniques, which can always profitably interact, in order to depict Medea's inner erotic conflict.

In a narratological analysis of the *Argonautica*, published in 1985, I maintained that Apollonius, in certain passages dealing with Medea's personal history, "invented" internal focalization, which is a kind of narration in which the narrator assumes totally the thoughts and emotions of a character, identifying with her or him and foregoing

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[39] See Fusillo (1993) 112–20.

[40] Genette (1972) 203–13, that must be integrated with the rich discussion of (1983) 43–52; see also Lintvelt (1981); Danon-Boileau (1982).

so-called omniscience. In the case of Apollonius this means abandoning the impersonal Homeric narration, based on canonical zero focalization.[41] In a book published two years later, *Narrators and Focalizers*, De Jong analyzes the presentation of the story in the *Iliad*, rejecting the critical topos of Homeric objectivity and showing an important role of focalization in the western tradition's first work. Here I cannot discuss the different theoretical approaches to focalization (De Jong follows the rather complicated method of Mieke Bal);[42] I can only say that this book made an impressive and precious contribution to the understanding of Homeric narration, demonstrating its refined and nuanced complexity. Nevertheless I remain convinced that Apollonius' technique is quite different and basically new.

To categorize always implies a risky cut between fluid phenomena: it is the thorny question that linguists call opposition between the discrete and the continuous. Genette's distinction of three basic kinds of focalization, which follows the path laid out by Pouillon and Todorov,[43] is no exception: the first, basic category, the zero focalization in which the omniscient and demiurgic narrator tells the story panoramically from above, is frequently characterized by limited sequences of internal focalization; the panoramic vision feeds in fact on cuts of single views.[44] It would be very hard to find a broad narrative work whose narrator never for a moment restricts the point of view to that of an individual character. That is the reason why it is a simple matter to distinguish works belonging to the first category, zero focalization, from works of the second, which are entirely narrated with the technique of the internal focalization (these are quite common from Henry James on; the third type, external focalization, is rare and does not really occur until the twentieth century). It is, however, far less easy to distinguish sequences of internal focalization within works dominated by the basic and canonical zero focalization, such as all the ancient epic poems, including the *Argonautica*.

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[41] Fusillo (1985) III A.

[42] See Bal (1977) 19–58, and the discussion by Genette (1983) 48–52.

[43] Pouillon (1946) 74–112; Todorov (1966) 141–3; for a critical panorama on this crucial notion see van Rossum Guyon (1970); Pugliatti (1985); Volpe (1991); and the anthology by Meneghelli (1998).

[44] See Genette (1983) 49, who defends the mixture of pure zero focalization, "le point de vue de Dieu ou de Sirius", so to say with no camera, and variable focalization made of short focalized sequences: "la formule juste serait donc plutôt: *focalisation zéro = focalisation variable, et parfois zéro*".

I think that De Jong's rich analysis does not alter the fact that the Homeric narrator uses only the omniscient and panoramic view, the zero focalization. All the examples she quotes are in fact minimal, such as adjectives, adverbs, and expressions of perception.[45] The subjective passages in Apollonius have a much greater depth and breadth: the reader is forced to identify totally, and for quite a long while, with Medea's feelings. In all of these sequences there is in fact almost no intrusion of the narrator (they could easily be transposed into the first person, and become monologues). This is a technique which, compared to the Homeric style, would have been felt by the public as an innovation, not by chance exclusively devoted to the heroine, and always introducing an interior monologue. I do not believe that we can find in the Homeric poems anything similar to the following passage (*Arg.* 3.451–462):

> Πολλὰ δὲ θυμῷ
> ὥρμαιν' ὅσσα τ' Ἔρωτες ἐποτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι·
> προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα,
> αὐτός θ' οἷος ἔην, οἵοισί τε φάρεσιν ἧστο,
> οἷά τ' ἔειφ', ὥς θ' ἕζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ὥς τε θύραζε
> ἤιεν· οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον ὀίσσατο πορφύρουσα
> ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν οὔασι δ' αἰὲν ὀρώρει
> αὐδή τε μῦθοί τε μελίφρονες οὓς ἀγόρευσε.
> τάρβει δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῷ, μή μιν βόες ἠὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
> Αἰήτης φθείσειεν, ὀδύρετο δ' ἠύτε πάμπαν
> ἤδη τεθνειῶτα· τέρεν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ παρειὰς
> δάκρυον αἰνοτάτῳ ἐλέῳ ῥέε κηδοσύνῃσιν.

All the many cares that the Loves stir up tossed about in her spirit. Everything still danced right before her eyes—how he looked, the clothes he wore, how he spoke, the way he sat on the chair, how he walked towards the door. As she pondered she thought that there could never have been another such man. In her ears rang his voice and the honeyed words he spoke. She feared for him, lest the bulls and Aietes together should destroy him, and she grieved as though he were already dead and gone. Down her cheeks flowed soft tears of the most awful pity in her anguish for him. (transl. R. Hunter)

If we use the notion of point of view in its ideological sense,[46] we can notice how empathy with Medea is in contrast with the moral

[45] See for example De Jong (1987) 105: "The perception passages are all very short (rarely longer than two verses)".
[46] On various meanings of this notion see Uspensky (1973); the ideological meaning was maintained especially by Booth (1961); Lotman (1973); Lanser (1981), and by the entire famous critical work of Bakhtin (see esp. [1981]).

codes that dominate the *Argonautica* and become explicit in the two scenes in the fourth book in which she tells her story censoring the erotic factor. Through the two narrative techniques of interior monologue and internal focalization, not really invented by him but fully reinvented on the basis of Homeric elements, and through the ingenious reinvention of the dream topos, Apollonius gives enormous space to Medea's subjectivity and to the expression of a repressed matter. Using Orlando's Freudian rhetoric we can define this return of the repressed as "conscious but not accepted",[47] because while it does have a clear affirmation in the text, it is still in contrast with the dominant ideology. Such a device will be further developed by the more polyphonic Virgilian poem.[48]

From the point of view of cultural and social history it is extremely important to stress again that with Apollonius there began a topos-like association of the interior monologue with a female character, and that this is part of a broader mental structure identifying femininity with passionality and irrationality. It is well known that feminist culture has oscillated between negating totally this image as a clear cultural construct and reverting to it in a positive key. It is a complex and still very intense debate about gendered cultural images, rich in intermediate solutions, which we cannot deal with now. French feminist psychoanalysts such as Hélène Cixous have theorized for example the interior monologue as a general pattern of fluid, maternal and alogical *écriture féminine*, completely independent of any biological sexual role;[49] but it is noteworthy that the most prominent female author usually linked to this technique, Virginia Woolf, never in fact wrote a true interior monologue, preferring a more "rational" and controlled internal focalization, a true psycho-narration. We can only conclude by stressing how fruitful the Apollonian "invention" was in the past, and still is in the *long durée*.

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[47] Orlando (1973) 74–85.
[48] On the Virgilian use of point of view see Bonfanti (1985).
[49] Cixous (1974).

THE SIMILES OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. INTERTEXTUALITY AND EPIC INNOVATION

Bernd Effe

Tension between tradition and innovation is an important factor in the aesthetics of Alexandrian poetry. Such authors as Apollonius, Callimachus or Theocritus show throughout that their poetry is "made of literature". Guided by the principle of intertextuality, their writing employs an extremely sophisticated technique of citation and allusion in order to evoke in their readers' mind the texts and manner of the "classical" genres and their prominent exponents, thereby highlighting the innovative tendencies of the new poetry against the background of the texts referred to.[1] What are the deeper reasons for such constant reference to the literary tradition? When the question is asked at all, modern scholarship seems to hold divergent views on the matter. Some critics see the accentuated intertextuality of Alexandrian poetry as sign of a will on the authors' part to ensure continuity with the past by rescuing the "classical" heritage over the great Hellenistic divide into its modern transformation—an *Aufheben* in the double Hegelian sense;[2] others point out the breakaway tendencies evident in departures from the tradition and stress the polemical nature of intertextual allusion.[3] There is, however, a consensus that the two poles of revitalization or subversion of the "classic" mark out a wide spectrum of grades and shadings that makes it possible to allocate a particular place to individual poets by bringing their aesthetics closer to one or the other of the poles.

This is also true of Apollonius' *Argonautica*. Here in particular the Homeric epic is the referent constantly kept in the reader's mind through copious allusion; it thus forms the "classical" epic background against which the new epic takes its innovative shape both in terms of content (subject-matter, theme, conception of the epic

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[1] Cf., e.g., Giangrande (1967) 85 ff.; (1970) 46 ff.; Bonanno (1990); Seiler (1997).

[2] E.g. Zanker (1987); Bing (1988) 72 ff.; Kouremenos (1996) 233 ff.

[3] Effe (1978) 48 ff., (1993) 317 ff. (with more literature on this problem).

hero, images of gods) and in terms of form (style, narrative). Homeric allusions and their function have attracted special attention in recent research.[4] There is a consensus here which stresses the new stylistic programme of the *Argonautica*, its tendency to depart from traditional epic. However, different views emerge as to how we are to assess the new epic's aesthetic programme as a whole and its relationship to the tradition of the epic genre in particular. Does it seek to revitalize (in modern form) the epic tradition, "rescuing" it after a long lapse of time (in contrast to the anti-epic single-mindedness of Callimachus),[5] or does Apollonius rather represent a radical break by subverting the tradition and paralysing epic in general?[6] The answer is obviously bound up with the question of Apollonius' attitude to the Homeric epic: does Apollonius seek to incorporate that tradition through continuation and modernisation or to subvert it through differentiation? Here, examination of the epic simile (arguably, the narrative device most typical of the epic genre) and its Homeric background opens up the prospect of a more accurate assessment of Apollonius' aesthetic position. Among the 80-odd extended similes of the *Argonautica* (excluding the short ones) most point more or less explicitly to a Homeric referent (mostly, though not exclusively, Homeric similes), and one may expect the aesthetic positioning displayed in the specific function of such allusions to be representative of Apollonius' relationship with the Homeric tradition as a whole.

The following remarks[7] may be seen as following up the results of long-standing scholarly work that has been inquiring into Apollonian similes and their relationship with the Homeric epic. In particular, attention has been called to two innovations. On the one hand, Apollonius' simile, by virtue of a stricter parallelism effected by a large number of points of contact between simile and narrative, is more closely bound to the narrative context;[8] such firm integration into the narrative allows the simile to often supplant the narrative

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[4] Goldhill (1991) 284 ff.; Gummert (1992); Clauss (1993); Hunter (1993a); Knight (1995); Kyriakou (1995). Apollonius' relation to Homeric scholarship is studied by Rengakos (1994a).

[5] Thus Goldhill (1991) and, in a very decided manner, Kouremenos (1996).

[6] This is the line followed esp. by Schwinge (1986) 88 ff.

[7] Based on the recently published article of mine titled "Tradition und Innovation. Zur Funktion der Gleichnisse des Apollonios Rhodios", *Hermes* 124 (1996) 290 ff.

[8] This aspect has been dealt with by Färber (1932). Cf. also Carspecken (1952) 35 ff., esp. 82 ff.; Gummert (1992) 109 ff.

exposition of action.[9] This tendency goes hand in hand with an intensification of the simile's thematic function. Thus the simile undertakes to lend the narrated action a certain dimension of meaning, open up a deeper sense-horizon for the reader, transcend the action, point to future events, and bring into meaningful relationship moments of the action far apart from each other. As a result, the simile enhances thematic coherence.[10] Further, a direct comparison with Homeric referents would reveal in detail which particular variations and innovations Apollonius goes for, so that "something new grows out of the Homeric rind".[11] While Apollonius' innovations with regard to the epic simile-tradition have been clearly worked out,[12] another question has gone practically undiscussed: What is the role of the Homeric references as such? What does constant allusion to Homeric texts aim at? Does allusive intertextuality stress generic continuity or does it rather articulate a polemical-subversive stance vis-à-vis old epic?[13] Through a text's A intertextual allusion to a source text B (including its context and function) and through a simultaneous change of function with regard to the source text B the alluding text A gains additional meaning by including semantic elements of the referent B or by assuming a certain attitude to them.[14] In what follows such issues will be explored with a view to answering the question whether, in the case of the Homeric references incorporated in Apollonian similes, allusions indicate an attitude of affirmative integration or rather one of distancing and subversion. Focusing on this question means that discussion should be limited to a representative selection

[9] This is the "Aktionsgleichnis" according to Drögemüller's (1956) terminology. Cf. further Fusillo (1985) 327 ff.

[10] Carspecken (1952) 82 ff., 95 ff.; Fusillo (1985) 334 ff.; Nyberg (1992) 22 ff., 45 ff. Drögemüller (1956) speaks here of "Motivationsgleichnis".

[11] This is Färber's (1932) frequent formulation. More detailed points on this in Drögemüller (1956) and Knight (1995).

[12] See Reitz's recent and thorough study *Zur Gleichnistechnik des Apollonios von Rhodos* (1996) (besides Homeric references, Reitz studies Apollonius' relation to Homeric scholarship and contemporary natural sciences).

[13] This question has been even more pressingly asked in recent work, e.g. Goldhill (1991) 306 ff. and Hunter (1993a) 129 ff. While here it is the distancing function of Homeric references that is stressed, Kouremenos (1996) argues that Apollonius sticks to Homeric tradition while also embracing Callimachus' innovative aesthetic programme in his attempt to negotiate his way between tradition and innovation; he thus sets himself clearly apart from Callimachus' anti-traditionalist attitude.

[14] For a theoretical exposition of the matter see Hebel (1991) 135 ff.; Seiler (1997) 4 ff.

of similes and their relevant aspects. A thorough exposition within the scope of this contribution is no more possible than an exhaustive analysis of all aspects of Apollonius' Homeric references.

Before we turn to the similes where Homeric models are clearly alluded to, we should first point out one of Apollonius' techniques which gives eloquent proof of the new epic's innovative agenda but whose importance critics have only recently come to realize.

In contrast to Apollonius' normal practice of keeping his similes strictly parallel to their narrative context, the analogy of the correspondences is often disturbed by certain quite remarkable incongruities. This is obviously a technique of calculated irritation which results in a simile stressing visible analogies with external features immediately recognizable on the surface of a narrated event, while at the same time it establishes an incongruous relationship with the narrative context in terms of atmosphere, mood and the actors' position within the dramatic situation.[15] A few significant instances should illustrate the range and workings of such incongruities.

In splendid armour and accompanied by a vast crowd, Aietes mounted on his elegant chariot rides to the place where Jason is to be put to the test. "As Poseidon mounted in his chariot rides to the contests of Isthmos or to Tainaron [further cult sites listed], even so Aietes, leader of the Colchians, came there as a spectator" (3.1240 ff.).[16] The proud ride and the pomp offer a clear analogy with the narrative, yet there is incongruity in terms of the actors' situation: whereas Poseidon receives honours in various cult sites, the king rides to a place where his expectations will be thwarted, and, even though he is presumed to be stronger, he will be humbled and outwitted. By stressing the difference in situation between the actors, the comparison with the god brings what is specific about Aietes' situation to the fore and thus contributes to thematic density. A similar incongruity characterizes two similes involving Medea. Medea, uncertain and wavering between passion for Jason and doubtful shyness, writhes in her bed in agony: "as when a bride in her chamber weeps over her youthful husband to whom she has been entrusted by her brothers and parents, yet him some fate has destroyed before they have

[15] Such incongruities are rightly stressed in some recent contributions: Fusillo (1985) 334 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 129 ff.; Reitz (1996) *passim*.

[16] All translations of quoted passages are by the author.

had pleasure of each other's tenderness; she with broken heart silently weeps, her eyes fixed on her widowed bed", and she keeps herself apart from her maids lest they mock and ridicule her—even so did Medea lament (3.656 ff.). Lament over love's unfulfilled expectations binds the two girls together; yet the legitimate passion of the bride in the simile stands in sharp contrast to Medea's illegitimate desire. In addition Medea weeps over a threatened loss that she could forestall by her own action, though at the price of far worse gossip than the bride of the simile fears—sharp contrasts that bring out Medea's special problems in full relief.[17] When Medea leaves her father's house for good in order to entrust herself to Jason, she cries as she takes leave of her family: "And as a bondmaid (ληιάς), torn from a wealthy house, whom fate has lately driven from her native land, not yet has she experienced hard toil, but still unaccustomed to pain and slavish work walks on in misery beneath the cruel hands of a mistress; even so the maiden full of passion rushed out of her house" (4.35 ff.). Far from being a war victim on her way to slavery,[18] Medea follows a lover who has promised her marriage. The different dramatic situation is designed to draw the reader's attention to the irresistibility of love's power which ruins the happy life the maiden has lived up to now and gives her over to an uncertain future.[19] Here we encounter for the first time a feature to be extensively dealt with further below: the simile reminds us of a typical motif of Homeric epic (woman as spoil of war violence)[20] which it transfers to an erotic context.

The mildly anti-Homeric effect to be sensed in this eroticization of a war motif is characteristic also of two similes which serve to define Jason. Despite the fact that critics' views of this new epic hero, whose passivity and lack of resolution are all too obvious and whose "heroism" is only helped out by a woman's sorcery, are divided

[17] Clack (1973) 310 ff.; Fusillo (1985) 336 ff.; Reitz (1996) 62 ff. give a quite similar interpretation of the simile.

[18] Fränkel (1968) 456 ff. accounts for this by noting that here Medea's own view of the situation shines through: she thinks of herself as being carried off towards a wretched destiny. Thus also Reitz (1996) 105 ff.

[19] Thus also Clack (1973) 314. Reitz (1996) 109 disagrees with this reading of the simile. Drögemüller (1956) 187 ff. traces the features that are "strange to the simile" ("vergleichsfremd"), without, however, considering their function.

[20] Cf., e.g., *Il.* 6.454 ff.; *Il.* 22.62 ff.; *Il.* 24.731 ff.; *Il.* 20.193: Achilles takes with him women as war booty (ληιάδας γυναῖκας) after storming a town.

between praise (an attitude of wise adaptation and thoughtful planning)[21] and criticism (opportunism devoid of character),[22] there is still a consensus to the effect that this type of "hero" represents a modern counterpart to the Homeric concept of energetic heroism.[23] The distance between these two concepts of heroism is exactly what the similes articulate. Jason rejoices at having obtained the golden fleece. "As a maiden catches on her fine robe the radiance of the full moon . . . and her heart rejoices as she looks at the beautiful shine", so did Jason filled with joy hold the fleece in his hands and the reddish glimmer of the flocks of wool settled on his cheeks and brow (4.167 ff.). The striking contrast between the two situations (on the one hand, the naive joy at a moment's chance happening; on the other, the final joy at a hard-won success) directs attention to the passivity of this hero, to whom the fleece comes as a windfall through a woman's magic agency.[24]

The unheroic element in Jason is also underlined by the following simile. In the Libyan desert Jason calls loudly to his comrades "like a lion . . .; and far off the mountain glens tremble at his roaring voice, and a great fear comes over the oxen in the fields and the herdsmen; but to them his voice caused no fear whatsoever, for it was the voice of a comrade calling to his friends" (4.1337 ff.). Here it is the author himself who points out the incongruity (fear of the lion—no fear of Jason), thus calling clearly into question the "lionlike" quality in his hero.[25] At the same time, by calling to mind

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[21] Thus, e.g., Fränkel (1968); likewise Lawall (1966) 119 ff. (on the assumption that Jason's character undergoes development); Clauss (1993) (Jason as the hero of a new epoch).

[22] Schwinge (1986) 88 ff.; Nyberg (1992) 46 ff., 105 ff. In Natzel's view (1992) 181 ff. the poet suspends judgement on his hero's character by deliberately setting negative aspects side by side with positive ones. Jackson (1992) 155 ff. sees in Jason a human being with all his attendant strengths and failures.

[23] Apart from the works cited above nn. 21 and 22, see Carspecken (1952) 99 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 8 ff.; Knight (1995) 99 ff. Thiel (1996) emphasizes Jason's negative anti-heroic traits and sees Jason as the perversion and caricature of traditional heroism.

[24] Thus also Fusillo (1985) 333 f.; Gärtner (1994) 224 f.; Reitz (1996) 110 ff. (the simile is supposed to bring out the "characteristically womanish, indeed effeminate quality" ("das charakteristisch Weibliche, ja Weibische") of this hero.

[25] In much the same way Hunter (1993a) 133 sees here the subversion of the Homeric-style simile. Gummert (1992) 144 wrongly observes that this simile displays the unique exception to Apollonius' own rule of observing a strict analogy of correspondences between simile and narrative context.

a typical Iliadic simile (grand comparison of a warrior with a lion) he makes clear the distance between his and Homer's concept of the hero.[26]

Other Apollonian similes move in a similar direction in that they allow through calculated incongruity warlike actions, the traditional epic's central theme, to appear in unfamiliar light. Polydeukes and Amykos, the king of the Bebrykians, engage in a boxing match. "As when shipwrights with their hammers strike the sharp clamps to nail the stubborn timbers down layer upon layer, and the bang grows louder with every blow, so the cheeks and jaws of both crashed . . ." (2.79 ff.). Despite outward analogies, it is hard to miss the contrast between the shipbuilders' contructive and peaceful work on the one hand and the destructive warlike aggression on the other.[27] Another war simile works likewise. The Argonauts have just slaughtered the Earthborn. "As when lumbermen cast in rows on the shore long trunks they have just cut down with their axes, so that drenched with brine they may be pierced by the strong bolts" so were they cut down one after another, some with their breasts and heads, others with their limbs in the water, all alike a prey to birds and fishes (1.1003 ff.). Here too a constructive purposeful event of skilled workmanship is being contrasted to an action of extermination and the accidents of its outcome. Both similes problematize the fighting spirit and emphasize the meaninglessness of war, while the allusion to the typical Iliadic simile of the dead hero falling to the ground like a tree is again designed to suggest the distance from Homer and his epic representation of fight—all this in a context where the new epic depicts for the first time (and with characteristic concentration) a battle scene.[28]

The tendencies we have been tracing above will be brought into sharper focus if we turn to those similes which point to Homeric models through intertextual allusion. First we shall consider some

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[26] Thus also Goldhill (1991) 307 ff.; Reitz (1996) 136 ff. (141: the displaced lion-simile "leistet die Demontage des epischen Heros mit den Mitteln des Epikers").

[27] Fränkel (1968) 159 notes the contrast without further comment.

[28] On Apollonius' battle-scenes and their anti-Homeric stylistic intent see among others Carspecken (1952) 91 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 41 ff.; Knight (1995) 82 ff. Fränkel (1968) 469 ff. rightly stresses a narrative principle of Apollonius that underscores his distance from Homer: Homerizing preparation for fight (e.g. scenes in which someone puts on his arms) leading either nowhere or to an erotic sequel (e.g. 1.721 ff.), where fighting is supplanted by love.

instances of the new epic poet's endeavour to lay more stress on a feature already there in Homer, thereby giving the simile greater thematic density and making it more firmly integral to the narrative context. Athena hastens to the Argonauts' aid during the perilous passage through the Symplegades. "As when one roams far from home, as we poor men often do, nor is any land too far away but all roads stand clear before his eyes, and he thinks of his own home, and at once the way across sea and land is clear to his view, and in swift thought he turns his eyes now this way now that"—so swiftly did Athena alight there (2.541 ff.). Just like the Homeric text alluded to (*Il.* 15.80 ff.: Hera flies swiftly, like a man whom wishful thoughts carry this way and that), the simile stresses the surprising speed of the goddess; however, the variation in dramatic situation (longing for far away places—homesickness of the wanderer) takes account of the Argonauts' mood, and the generalisation effected by means of the simile foregrounds mankind's woes as a whole. Thus the contrast man-god, only adumbrated in Homer, gains a higher thematic profile.[29] Two Apollonian similes refer to *Il.* 12.433 ff.: As a poor toiling woman (γυνὴ χερνῆτις) honestly weighs the wool making the scales equal that she may earn a small wage for her children, even so was the battle between Trojans and Achaeans evenly fought. Apollonius transfers the simile to Medea and the beginning of her passion: "as a γυνὴ χερνῆτις heaps dry sprigs upon a burning brand . . . that she may kindle a fire at night beneath her roof, having awakened at an early hour—and the flame flaring wondrously up from the small brand devours all the sprigs", so burned pernicious love secretly in her heart (3.291 ff.). Whereas Homer's equal battle implies a static situation, in Apollonius there is movement as passion first smoulders to flare up into destructive blaze afterwards (the simile thus takes on a premonitory aspect). In this way the discrepancy between situation and actors, already present in Homer, becomes, so to speak, thematically functional. The pitiful condition of the poor woman casts a compassionate light on the victim of Eros,[30] and this effect is heightened by a further contrast: the fire is in one instance the means to a useful end, in the other a destruc-

[29] This point is only faintly seen by Fränkel (1968) 200 and completely ignored by Reitz (1996) 50 ff. who sees instead an Apollonian tendency to rationalize the Homeric model by appealing to contemporary psychological theories.
[30] Thus also Drögemüller (1956) 181 ff.; Clack (1973) 310 f.

tive force.[31] The second reference to the Iliadic simile is to be found in the context of the misfortune brought about by Medea's passion; thus, with the passion of love still in its beginning, the allusion to the Homeric simile foreshadows the misfortune to come. Fearing that she may be handed over to the Colchians, Medea cannot go to sleep and her heart quivers with anguish: "As when a γυνὴ ταλαεργός turns her spindle at night, while at her side cry her orphan children, for she is bereft of her husband; down her cheeks stream the tears as she thinks of the miserable lot that is hers", so did Medea lament (4.1062 ff.). The Homeric model is expanded by means of the lament for the lost husband: on the one hand a heightening of the mood of depression and mourning which contributes to thematic density;[32] on the other, a hint at Medea's fear of losing Jason's protection.[33]

By laying more stress on certain aspects of the Homeric simile and by rendering them thematically functional Apollonius gives proof of the new epic style's superiority. The following instances are meant to provide further proof of such superiority. Finding themselves in despair, the Argonauts are confronted with death in the Libyan Syrte: "As men looking like lifeless spectres wander through a city, awaiting war or pestilence or some violent storm (ὄμβρον) . . ., when the images of gods sweat with blood [there follow two further prodigies]—so did the heroes grope their way along the shore" (4.1280 ff.). Apollonius is alluding to *Il.* 10.5 ff.: As when Zeus in violent weather (ὄμβρον) launches thunderbolts amid hail, snow or bad war, so often did Agamemnon groan. Whereas in Homer the expectation of evil is kept in the background, Apollonius emphasizes this aspect and thus intensifies the simile's atmospheric potential.[34] Finally

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[31] This contrast is further underscored through evocation of yet another Homeric simile *Od.* 5.488 ff. (Odysseus hides under the leaves like someone preserving fire under the ashes). Here too the context is one of rescue and preservation while the fire of love brings Medea but sorrow (see Reitz [1996] 59 ff., who in any case takes no notice of the contrast).

[32] Drögemüller (1956) 185 f. By contrast, Färber (1932) 20 and Fränkel (1968) 561 stress the scene's technical aspects (the turning of the spindle) as a feature peculiar to Apollonius. Reitz (1996) 118 ff. observes that what is important here is not Medea's state of mind so much as the "Tumult ihrer Gefühle", a kind of "Psychogramm" in which the poet takes account of contemporary scientific knowledge.

[33] Fusillo (1985) 338; Hunter (1993a) 65.

[34] Fusillo (1985) 339; Gärtner (1994) 134 ff. Reitz (1996) 125 ff. ignores the reference to Homer and sees the simile as the poet's response to contemporary discussion on divination.

the Argonauts come upon a spring, where they can slake their thirst. "As when ants on the ground swarm in great numbers round a narrow cavity or when flies cluster eagerly round a small drop of honey"—so did they surround the spring (4.1452 ff.). The Apollonian text alludes to a couple of Iliadic similes in which the image of the flies swarming round the milk illustrates the throng of fighters and their eagerness for battle (*Il.* 2.469 ff., 16.641 ff.). By reducing the function of the simile to the moment of avid thirst, Apollonius makes his heroes appear in the unheroic light of a simple bodily need.[35]

Finally, two last instances of thematically intensified Homeric reception. Medea (whom Hera frightens into fleeing her father) trembles "like a swift fawn (κεμάς) whom the barking of hounds has terrified in a deep-wooded thicket" (4.12 f.). In Apollonius' text the quick flight emphasized in the Homeric model (*Il.* 10.360 f.: Odysseus and Diomedes pursue Dolon like two hounds chasing a κεμάς or a hare in the forest) is a mere prospect forming the background to the psychological and thematical intensification (Medea's sudden fear; her own father as mortal enemy).[36] As she beholds the "sweet flame" (ἡδεῖαν φλόγα) which Eros shines forth from Jason's head, Medea is prepared to give him "all her soul" and melts away "as the dew melts away on roses when warmed by the rays of the morning sun" (3.1015 ff.). Whereas it is the atmosphere of warming joy that prevails in the Homeric model (*Il.* 23.597 ff.: when Menelaos receives a horse as a gift, his heart warms like dew on the grain of a rich field), the Apollonian image acquires a sinister ambivalence through the idea of "melting": in Jason's attractiveness the pleasant is bound to the destructive—an ambiguity articulated by the oxymoron of the "sweet flame" and aimed for by a further variation with regard to Homer: while Menelaos receives a gift, Medea is prepared to give everything; what Jason gives her, does her no good.[37]

The way the last simile alludes to the Homeric text entails a broad strategy of integration: the referent serves to provide its modern vari-

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[35] Cf. Williams (1991) 268: in the wilderness the heroes themselves become wild animals.

[36] See Drögemüller's (1956) 42 ff. and Reitz's (1996) 101 ff. apt remarks. For the rare κεμάς cf. Rengakos (1994a) 102 f.

[37] Good remarks on the ambiguity and sinister connotations in Reitz (1996) 78 ff. A further Homeric reference stresses the destructive aspect: In *Il.* 5.4 ff. fire shines forth from Diomedes' head and shoulders—a gleam of war violence which Apollonius transfers to the erotic sphere.

ation with a deeper meaning and to highlight its core ideas. This is also the case with the following three examples. Medea accompanied by her handmaids drives her chariot through the city in order to bring Jason the life-saving charm. As Artemis drives forth in a chariot drawn by swift-footed roes to receive from afar a rich offering; and behind her follow in attendance Nymphs of the springs and the woodland, while the beasts fawn in awe as she passes—thus did they speed through the city, and the people drew back shunning the royal maiden's eyes (3.876 ff.). Again there is a remarkable incongruity: Artemis *receives* an offering; Medea, herself a sacrificial victim of Eros, *brings* an offering. Further, the Apollonian text alludes to a Homeric simile involving Nausikaa: the royal maiden plays with her handmaids. As Artemis courses through the mountains rejoicing at wild boars and swift roe-deer; along with her play the Nymphs, while Leto is filled with delight; all of them are fair, but Artemis stands out among them—thus did the maiden stand out among her attendants (*Od.* 6.102 ff.). In contrast to the mood of hunting and sporting euphoria pervading this simile, Apollonius foregrounds the dark aspect of menace and fear;[38] and unlike Leto, Medea's parents, had they known about it, would hardly have been happy about their daughter's behaviour. Another simile is about the effects of Medea's magic. Medea overcomes the bronze giant Talos by magic: not long did he stand; "but even as a huge pine, which woodcutters . . . have left half hewn, is first shaken by gusts of wind at night, but then snaps at the stump and comes crashing down" so did he first sway to and fro and then collapsed to the ground (4.1680 ff.). Viewed against the background of a Homeric battle-scene, where a falling warrior is constantly compared with a falling tree (*Il.* 4.482 ff., 13.389 ff.), the specific quality of this "heroic deed" leaps to the eye: it is a woman's deed, accomplished with the aid of magic power. Thus the falling-tree simile—the last in Apollonius' epic—marks as clearly the distance from the Homeric drawing of epic battle-scenes as the one which places the Argonauts' first warlike action in an unfamiliar light (1.1003 ff.; above 153). Here, within the space of intertextual allusion, the gesture of integration is combined with an effect of contrast. This

[38] The motif of the fawning animals evokes two further Homeric passages which are also pervaded by an atmosphere of pure joy: in *Il.* 13.27 ff. the κήτεα of the sea honour their lord Poseidon, while in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* animals follow the goddess of love who "rejoices in her heart" (vv. 69 ff.).

is also true of another Homer-oriented simile which illustrates Jason's warlike impatience as his trial on Ares' field is about to begin. Jason, filled with mighty strength through Medea's magic, takes pride in the power of his limbs "as when a war-steed eager for battle neighs and paws the ground, and then proudly raises his neck, with ears erect" (3.1259 ff.). This brings to mind an Iliadic simile and its double use. The latter illustrates Paris stimulated into fighting by Hektor's criticism (*Il.* 6.506 ff.), but also Hektor's desire for battle after Apollo has supplied him with new strength (*Il.* 15.263 f.). Thus a characteristic light is cast on Jason and his "heroic deed": the questionable prowess of Paris the "ladies' hero" rubs off onto him,[39] while Hektor's situation is a reminder that Jason's strength, deriving as it does from Medea's magic, is the result of external help too.[40]

Several of the similes treated above display the modern epic poet's gesture of distancing himself from traditional epic with its heroic conception of war. This aspect needs to be more sharply outlined.

"Even as a fierce wave of the sea crests (κορύσσεται) against a swift ship, but she by the skill of the crafty helmsman just escapes the wave . . ."—thus did Amykos pursue Polydeukes, yet the latter through his skill kept him running in vain (2.70 ff.). In the *Iliad* the Greeks storm into battle like a wave which rises in a crest (κορύσσεται) in the sea to break upon the shore (*Il.* 4.422 ff.). By applying it to the blind fury of a fighting barbarian, whose φύσις succumbs to the superior τέχνη of his opponent,[41] Apollonius lends the simile an anti-Homeric accent.[42] The elemental power of the bulls overcome by Jason is unavailing too. They rage and breathe flames of fire, and their breath rises "like the roar of blustering winds (βυκ-

[39] While Paris attracts Hektor's criticism because of his reluctance to fight (*Il.* 6.326 ff., 521 ff.), Jason is criticized by Idas for depending on the aid of a woman (3.536 ff. 1252 ff.).

[40] The simile is analysed in a similar way by Reitz (1996) 83 ff. Knight (1995) 99 ff. has some good points on the distance between the description of Jason's "heroic deeds" in book 3 and Homer's conception of heroic fighting; she rightly observes that the high concentration of similes right here serves to mark the contrast with Homer (110 ff.).

[41] Cf. Drögemüller (1956) 132 ff.; Lawall (1966) 132 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 160.

[42] Apollonius alludes to the Homeric simile on yet another occasion: in 4.214 ff. the Colchians stream toward the gathering like waves cresting during a winterstorm and like leaves falling in autumn (cf. *Il.* 2.144 ff.). Here the break with old epic style lies in the fact that, since no fight follows, the scene depicted in the Homeric manner is left hanging in midair (see n. 28 above).

τάων ἀνέμων), in fear of which the sailors furl their large sail"; yet soon after they moved on in obedience (3.1326 ff.). In *Il.* 15.624 ff. Hektor falls upon the Greeks like a fierce wave on a ship; the wind howls and the seamen tremble in fear. In contrast to the fear of death experienced by the seamen and the Greeks, Jason, thanks to Medea's magic drug, runs no risk whatsoever;[43] thus the heroic quality suggested by the Homeric simile is ironically defused. The destructive rage of the bulls, emphasized by the blacksmith simile a few lines earlier, is likewise cancelled (3.1299 ff.). "But the maiden's drug protected him" (3.1305)—so the simile is, so to speak, summarily dismissed. The Apollonian text here alludes to the forging of Achilles' armour in *Il.* 18.470 ff., and the heroic context thus evoked makes the bulls' vain fury look almost like a parody by contrast.

Such distance from the traditional heroic epic and its straightforward depiction of war is highly visible throughout Apollonius. Amykos glares at his opponent Polydeukes, eyes wildly rolling, "like a lion struck by a javelin, when hunters close in on him in the mountains; . . . he keeps his eyes fixed on the man who hit him first but did not kill him" (2.25 ff.). The simile illustrates fighting spirit whetted by irritation, as in its Homeric model: Achilles moves against Aeneas like a ravening lion, whom men attempted to kill; struck by the javelin he rouses himself into a rage and with grim look he throws himself upon the men (*Il.* 20.164 ff.).[44] However, there are two important differences: first, the man exalted by the Apollonian simile is going to lose the fight; secondly, the lion-like quality is no more the mark of an outstanding hero but that of a barbarian's uncivilized ferocity.[45] Hence the simile's pejorative and anti-Homeric air.[46] The same is true of another simile featuring beasts of prey. After the murder of Apsyrtos has broken a previous agreement, the Argonauts fall upon the Colchians "as hawks swoop on the tribes of doves or

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[43] Moreover, since βυκτάων ἀνέμων is repeated from *Od.* 10.20, Jason is distanced from the emergency Odysseus and his comrades find themselves in (in the context of Aiolos' windsack).

[44] Cf. also *Il.* 5.136 ff. (Diomedes' eagerness to fight).

[45] This is also stressed by an incongruity within Apollonius' simile itself: unlike the lion, Amykos is under no threat from the Argonauts (Reitz [1996] 39 ff., failing to see this, stresses the exact correspondences between simile and narrative).

[46] A similar case is 3.1359 ff.: the Earthborn spring up from the earth like shining stars—only to be laid low immediately afterwards. Apollonius employs a typically Homeric simile (*Il.* 8.555 ff., 19.357 ff.) even as he empties it of its heroic meaning. Failing to see the simile's point, Färber (1932) 53 considers it misconceived.

lions of the wild leap into the sheepfold striking panic into a large flock of sheep; and not one of them escaped death" (4.485 ff.). In contrast to the Homeric models (Achilles pursues Hektor as a hawk pursues a dove [*Il.* 22.139 ff.]; Apollo strikes terror into the Achaeans as two wild beasts frighten a herd of cattle or a large flock of sheep, when they break in all of a sudden and the herdsman is not there [*Il.* 15.323 ff.]), the beast-like behaviour of the aggressors appears here in a strongly negative light (the Argonauts, oblivious to all sense of morality, attack their former partners in treaty). Finally, there is the following version of a Homeric simile involving wild-beast imagery. Hylas, being raped by the Nymphs, cries for help; Polyphemos hears him and rushes forward "like a savage lion, whom the sound of bleating sheep has struck from afar, and tormented by hunger he follows; yet he does not come upon any sheep, for the shepherds have already penned them in the fold; but he roars vehemently on until he tires"—so did Polyphemos groan in his vain search (1.1243 ff.). The simile highlights the moment of frustration, just like its Homeric model: as when hounds and men drive a lion away from the cattle pen; he draws near, eager for flesh, but must in the end withdraw in sadness—so did Aias turn back against his will (*Il.* 11.548 ff.). However, a jarring discrepancy makes itself felt in Apollonius: the lion's hunger and craving for flesh have no counterpart in the narrative context, since Polyphemos wishes but to give friendly help. To be sure, such discrepancy in motivation is designed to direct the reader's attention to the inappropriateness of the traditional simile and thus to suggest that the poet is distancing himself from the heroic idea of battle inherent in the simile.[47]

Anti-Homeric tendencies emerge equally in similes which problematize war. Amykos and Polydeukes attack each other "like two bulls fighting in furious rivalry over a grazing heifer" (2.88 f.). In the *Iliad* Hektor and Patroklos fight over Kebriones' body as two hungry lions fight over a killed hind (*Il.* 16.756 ff.). By transferring the Homeric simile to the field of sexual desire, Apollonius draws

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[47] There is a detailed analysis of the simile (and its relationship to Theocritus' parallel simile in 13.62 ff.) in Effe (1992) 299 ff.; other interpretations are also criticized here, in particular the contention that the idea of hunger points to sexual desire (thus, among others, Clauss [1993] 193 ff.; Reitz [1996] 27 ff.). The results of this analysis are questioned by Köhnken (1996a) 442 ff. (he denies deliberate incongruity on Apollonius' part).

by contrast attention to the fact that no such sensible purpose motivates the fight between Amykos and Polydeukes. There is no sense either in the mutual slaughter of the Earthborn who thrust themselves upon one another and fall on the ground "like pines or oaks which the gales shake down" (3.1375 f.). The allusion to typical Homeric similes[48] gives the absurdity of this massive self-destruction an added edge. No doubt, the new epic may occasionally preserve the original function of a simile, as happens when the poet wishes to illustrate the might of Herakles uprooting a gigantic tree (1.1201 ff.).[49] In the *Argonautica*, Herakles is the epitome of traditional heroism which acts as a foil to Jason's unheroic behaviour.[50] It is therefore only natural that through the simile Herakles should be brought closer to the typical hero of old epic and that, conversely, Jason's warlike actions should appear in an unfamiliar light. "As when a dispute breaks out between neighbors, a husbandman, fearing that someone else might reap his fields before him, seizes the curved newly sharpened sickle and in haste cuts the crop while it is still unripe, without waiting for the proper harvest season . . ."—so did Jason mow down the Earthborn and the furrows were filled with blood (3.1386 ff.). In *Il.* 11.67 ff. Trojans and Achaeans are mowing each other down "as in a rich man's field reapers over against each other cut their swaths through wheat or barley and the sheaves fall thick and fast". Apollonius' variation emphasizes two points of discrepancy: Jason differs from the husbandman in that his actions are superfluous (the Earthborn are given to mutual slaughter) but also because the streams of blood resulting from his action stand in sharp contrast to the husbandman's life-giving labour. Both of the discrepancies point to the meaninglessness of killing in war[51]—and so does the example which follows immediately after. At the sight of the fallen Earthborn Aietes is overwhelmed by deep grief, like a husbandman feeling sorrow when the young plants droop to the ground after heavy rain and all toil goes for nothing (1399 ff.). Here

[48] *Il.* 4.482 ff.; 5.559 f.; 13.178 ff., 389 ff.; 17.53 ff.

[49] Here Apollonius also elaborates a Homeric scene: *Od.* 12.407 ff., cf. Drögemüller 214 ff. ("jähes Wüten mit elementarer Gewalt").

[50] Lawall (1966) 123 ff.; Schwinge (1986) 88 ff.; Natzel (1992) 196 ff.; Clauss (1993) 136 ff., 176 ff.

[51] Likewise Reitz (1996) 96 ff. Thiel (1996) 47 ff. argues that the killing of the Earthborn marks the "absolut gloriosen Tiefpunkt" in Jason's magic-supported test and that it is precisely the similes that take his "heroism" a peg down or two.

Apollonius applies the central image of a Homeric simile (*Il.* 8.306 ff.: As the poppy bows its head after rain, so did Gorgythion, mortally wounded, bow his head to one side) to the sorrow of the frustrated husbandman, thus emphasizing the pain caused by war.[52]

Anti-war accents dominate other Apollonian similes too. As the Argo sails off, Orpheus plays the lyre: the joyous mood is brought out by a simile that alludes to a scene of harvest and dance in the Homeric description of the Shield (1.536 ff.; *Il.* 18.567 ff.). This mood lasts as the voyage goes on. Orpheus sings, and fishes, great mixed with small, follow gambolling the ship's course as when countless sheep follow the shepherd who plays his pipe (1.572 ff.). In Homer warriors follow their leaders into battle, "as sheep fat from grazing follow the ram, and the shepherd is happy" (*Il.* 13.491 ff.). Apollonius transfers the simile to a context of idyllic harmony, thus setting a definitely unwarlike tone right from the start of the expedition.[53] There is only an apparent contradiction to this when the fight against the Bebrykians is illustrated by a typical Homeric simile featuring rapacious animals (2.123 ff.: wolves attacking sheep; cf. *Il.* 15.323 ff.; 16.156 ff., 352 ff.), for what we have here is a double simile the latter part of which muffles the martial tone of the beginning: "As shepherds or beekeepers smoke out a huge swarm of bees in a rock; at first they buzz around in the hive, but then, tormented by the biting smoke, they fly out of the rock"—so were the Bebrykians dispersed (2.130 ff.). Like its Homeric model (*Il.* 2.87 ff.), the simile illustrates mass movement (here the flight) and gives the wild-beast simile (which leads one to expect murder and death) a rather harmless turn.[54] The following simile functions in much the same way. "As when on the mountains hounds trained in the chase follow the track of horned goats or deer (πρόκας) and strain behind them for a while, baring and gnashing their teeth on the edge of their jaws in vain"—so did the Boreads all but graze the Harpies in their pursuit; and they would have torn them apart had not Iris intervened (2.278 ff.). This chase, then, ends harmlessly. In contrast,

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52 Thus also Reitz (1996) 96 ff.: the simile directs sympathy toward the victims of war and shows "die Sinnlosigkeit des Gemetzels, die Überflüssigkeit heroischer Taten".

53 Well analysed by Drögemüller (1956) 55 ff. and Fränkel (1968) 84 ff.

54 This central function of the simile is ignored by Knight (1995) 96 ff. and Reitz (1996) 43 ff.

the Homeric model (*Il.* 10.360 ff.: Odysseus and Diomedes pursue Dolon like two hunting dogs chasing a hind or a hare; above, 156) prefigures the elimination of the chased enemy.[55]

In distancing itself from the old epic conception of war and battle, Apollonius' epic comes close to parody at times. As Fränkel has shown ([1968] 264 ff.), the Argonauts' fight with the birds of the Ares island is intended as an amusing contrast with the pathos of Homeric battle scenes. The similes also work in this direction. "As when a man roofs over a house with tiles to make it look beautiful and to protect it from rain, and one tile fits closely into another, row upon row" so did they roof over the ship fitting shield close to shield (2.1073 ff.). In Homer the Myrmidons cover their ranks with helm and shield as a man builds the wall of his house with close-set stones to protect it from the wind (*Il.* 16.212 ff.). The simile is adapted to the situation (danger from above) and—the amusing point of it all—applied to a fight against birds. Another simile follows hard behind this one: "And as a din goes up from a host of warriors marching forward, when lines of battle engage, such a shout arose from the ship high into the air" (2.1077 ff.). Apollonius echoes such passages as *Il.* 3.2 ff. (the Trojans attack shouting "like birds, as the clamour of cranes resounds in the sky") and *Il.* 14.393 ff. (the Trojans and Achaeans clash shouting louder than the roar of the sea, the fire and the wind) inverting the relation between simile and narrative. What is narrated (the din of the battle) becomes simile; the simile ("like birds") becomes the subject-matter of the narrative.[56] Thus the heroic fight becomes the bird fight. Still, this is not all. The Argonauts suffer calmly the feather-darts of the fleeing birds just as a hailstorm unleashed by Zeus does not harm people protected under the roof of their houses (1083 ff.). While the Homeric simile alluded to (*Il.* 10.5 ff., see above 155) emphasizes Agamemnon's deep anxiety, Apollonius stresses the indifference displayed to a harmless "danger". The exceptional concentration of similes in the episode of the Argonauts' fight with the birds (three similes totalling twelve lines in

[55] Apollonius has also in mind *Od.* 17.295 where the animals of his simile are named. They were once chased by Odysseus' dog Argos, which is now dying: this too is perhaps an intentional contrast of moods. For the meaning of Homer's unique πρόξ see Rengakos (1994a) 133 f.

[56] Färber (1932) 42 stresses rightly that in contrast to Homer the noise of the battle and thus the battle itself "auf die vergleichende Stufe herabgedrückt werden".

a narrative context of 21 lines) constitutes an imitation of the old epic style—an imitation which verges on the effect of parody on account of the shifts in signification and function we have been tracing above.[57]

Another aspect of Apollonius' anti-Homeric view of war and battle is to be seen in the fact that in his epic outstanding single combatants are replaced by collective performance and experience.[58] The epic's very first simile is a case in point. As the Argonauts march to their ship, they stand out among the crowd surrounding them "like shining stars among the clouds" (1.239 ff.). Inasmuch as the simile alludes to *Il.* 11.62 ff. ("As from among the clouds there shines a baneful star, and again it vanishes behind the shadowy clouds" so did Hektor appear now here and now there), it distances itself almost programmatically from Homer: at the centre of this epic stands collective performance rather than the great single combatant. This attitude is evinced by the description of the epic's first major war incident, the battle with the Doliones. This is a war neither side wants,[59] so there is more than a whiff of irony when this pseudo-war is recounted in a characteristically Homeric way.[60] The action is illustrated by two similes. The opponents fall on each other with clashing spears and shields "like a blast of fire which falls upon dry bushes and crests" (1.1026 ff.). Apollonius follows here the pattern of a typical Homeric simile (e.g. *Il.* 11.155 ff.: Agamemnon rages among the Trojans like a destructive fire; *Il.* 21.12 ff.: Achilles falls upon the Trojans like a blast of fire) but replaces the highlighted and admired valour of the Homeric single hero with the blind fury of collective rage. At the end of the battle the Doliones (who are not killed) give way and flee in fear, "as a swarm of doves takes flight in terror before swift-winged hawks" (1.1049 f.). The simile effects a variation on its Homeric model (*Il.* 22.139 ff.: Hektor flees before Achilles like a frightened dove before an attacking hawk) and adapts it to the circumstances of a collective incident.[61]

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[57] The analyses of Carspecken (1952) 91 ff. and Fusillo (1985) 330 ff. move along similar lines. Cf. also Knight (1995) 110 ff. (on the high concentration of similes in the course of the description of Jason's "heroic deeds").

[58] For this change of emphasis cf. esp. Carspecken (1952) 109 ff.

[59] An anti-Homeric idea in and by itself, as Knight (1995) 84 ff. rightly remarks.

[60] Goldhill (1991) 317 ff. (ironic caricature of Homeric battle scenes); Hunter (1993a) 43 (subversion of the ethos of heroic fight).

[61] See Drögemüller (1956) 109 f. ("blinder Vernichtungskampf", "Massenkampf").

It is a well-known fact that the treatment of erotic subject-matter incorporates some of Apollonius' most substantial innovations vis-à-vis the Homeric epic.[62] The anti-Homeric tenor of such innovations also comes out in the similes, especially those which reveal specific aspects of Jason's new epic "heroism". First two examples, in which Jason appears at first sight as the traditional epic war-hero. Before the fight with the Earthborn, Jason is eager to fight "like a boar that sharpens his tusks against the hunters, while out of fury much foam drips from his jaws" (3.1350 ff.). The simile alludes to *Il.* 13.471 ff. (Idomeneus stands his ground against Aeneas as a boar holds out before a large number of hunters; "his back bristles up, his eyes are ablaze and he sharpens his tusks eager to ward off hounds and men") and seems to bring Jason into line with the typical Homeric hero.[63] Yet there is an obvious incongruity in the dramatic situation that impairs this movement: for, as a matter of fact, it is Jason who is the hunter, and the boar's furious eagerness for fight fits the Earthborn, not Jason. In other words, the Homeric boar-simile here is as inappropriate for the characterization of this "hero" as is the lion simile in the case of Polyphemos (above 160).[64] In the fight itself Jason charges with the sword at the Earthborn, "as a fiery star flashes across the sky, trailing a furrow of light, a portent to those who see it leap gleaming through the darkness" (3.1377 ff.): an allusion to *Il.* 4.75 ff., where Athena leaps down from Olympus like a star which Zeus launches to be a gleaming portent for men. The referent gives the simile a deeper semantic dimension: Jason falls upon his enemies like a god because of the superiority Medea's magic gives him.

In the *Iliad* the star simile often serves to underline the greatness of a hero who proves himself in battle and visits destruction on the enemies. Thus Priam sees Achilles as the latter storms over the plain "gleaming like a star that rises in late summer; brightly does it shine in the darkness of the night among many stars; Dog of Orion men call it by name; it is the brightest of all, yet it is a bad omen and

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Knight (1995) 90 f. See also 160 above (on the simile's change of function in another context).

62 Cf., e.g., Zanker (1979) 52 ff.; Schwinge (1986) 116 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 46 ff.

63 Thus Färber (1932) 52 (Jason's "Heroisierung"); similarly Drögemüller (1956) 31 ff.

64 Thus also Knight (1995) 105 ff.; Reitz (1996) 90 ff. (Jason is ridiculed and shown to be less than heroic), Thiel (1996) 45 f. (the simile is pointless and caricatures heroic behaviour).

it brings sweltering heat to wretched mortals" (so will Achilles bring Priam much sorrow).[65] This typically grand simile is twice transferred by Apollonius to an erotic context.[66] First in the Lemnos episode: Jason is on his way to the city (and so to Hypsipyle) "like to a shining star which brides-to-be, cloistered in their chambers, watch as it rises above their abodes; it charms their eyes with its fine red glow[67] through the dark air, and the maiden is glad in her yearning for the youth who lives amid strangers and to whom her parents will give her to be his bride" (1.774 ff.). Unlike Achilles, Jason is a hero of love. The radiance of his beauty has a magic erotic impact—but it brings sorrow too, for the yearning it arouses will be unfulfilled. The correspondence *cum* contrast with Achilles is also stressed by the fact that both men are on their way to the city (1.774, *Il.* 22.21), and the actions of both these protagonists are preceded by an extensive ecphrasis: Achilles' victorious careering over the plain is preceded by the description of the shield (*Il.* 18.478 ff.); the erotic adventure of his modern successor by the description of his mantle (1.721 ff.).[68] Jason is contrasted with Achilles for a second time when he meets Medea in secret, appearing to her "like Sirius when he rises out of Ocean; fair and bright to see he goes up, yet to the flocks he brings widespread disaster"—so did Jason in his beauty come to her, yet the sight of him brought on love-sick misery (3.956 ff.). Here too the point is the irresistible erotic glow, but then also the wretchedness this hero's erotic power brings upon its victim.[69] If Hektor succumbs to the heroic power of Achilles, Medea is a helpless victim of love.

Eroticization of Homeric motifs: this function of the Apollonian similes will be illustrated in conclusion by means of four examples. In the context of the last simile analysed above, Medea and Jason stand silently face to face "like oaks or tall pines which stand side

[65] *Il.* 22.26 ff., see also *Il.* 5.5 ff.: from Diomedes' helmet and shield there burns fire similar to a star which rises shining from Ocean. Apollonius transfers the simile motif to Polydeukes, wild Amykos' beaming victor (2.40 ff.).

[66] See Fusillo (1985) 334 ff.; Nyberg (1992) 22 ff.; Reitz (1996) 15 ff.

[67] This refers back to the glowing red of Jason's mantle (1.722, 725 f.); the colour has obvious erotic connotations.

[68] See Färber (1932) 11 f.; Fränkel (1968) 100; Clauss (1993) 120 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 52 ff.

[69] Drögemüller (1956) 240 ff.; Fusillo (1985) 334 ff.; Goldhill (1991) 306 ff.; Hunter (1993a) 48.

by side in the mountains deep-rooted, quiet while the wind is still; then again, when stirred by the breeze, they rustle loudly"—so these two, stirred by the winds of Eros, would much talk to each other (3.967 ff.). In Homer, the simile of the deep-rooted oaks which resist storm and rain (*Il.* 12.131 ff.) underscores the steadiness of two fighters. Apollonius lays stress on just the opposite, namely, Eros' shattering effect—which apparently means that love is more powerful than Homeric martial prowess.[70] Furthermore, the "deep-rooted trees" motif draws attention to the fact that because of Eros' might Medea is swept off her feet; she becomes "uprooted". The power of Eros is at issue in another couple of similes. Eros attacks Medea "as a gadfly (οἶστρος) attacks young heifers, the one oxherds call the breese (μύωψ)" (3.275 ff.). Apollonius alludes to *Od.* 22.299 ff. (the suitors run in panic through the hall like oxen chased in spring by a gadfly) and transfers the situation to the erotic field. A similar shift in function governs a simile in the Hylas episode. When Herakles receives the news of his beloved's disappearance, he rushes forth crying loudly "as when a bull stung by a breese (μύωψ) rushes forth ... caring nothing for herdsmen and herd, ... raises his broad neck and roars wounded by the bad gadfly (οἶστρος)" (1.1265 ff.). It is love (jealousy; fury due to loss) which renders Herakles furious.[71] If the Odyssean simile stresses the effect of war violence (panic and fear), the Apollonian counterpart to this is love's effect (desperate fury). Even the strongest hero among the Argonauts yields to the power of Eros. Finally, let us go once again back to the Lemnos episode. The Homeric simile of the bees, taken up by Apollonius in the course of depicting a battle scene (above 162), appears in an erotic context. In the *Iliad* the simile illustrates mass movement in war: "As the tribes of thronging bees fly forth from some hollow rock, wave after wave, flying in clusters over the spring flowers, some here, others there"—thus did the many tribes stream down to the army's gathering place (*Il.* 2.87 ff.). The scene in Apollonius is one of departure: "as when bees buzz round beautiful lilies, swarming out of their hive in the rock; all around the dewy meadow smiles; they flit around, gathering the sweet fruit here and there"—even so did the women

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[70] Reitz (1996) 75 ff. has a fine comment on this contrast.

[71] Reitz (1996) 32 ff. makes detailed comments on the symptoms of erotic fury contained in the simile.

stream out crying for their men, saying goodbye to each one and praying to the gods for their safe return (1.879 ff.). The most important change with regard to the model text is the shift from the context of war to that of love-sick sorrow felt by women saying goodbye to their lovers. This shift is also reflected in the erotic connotations of the dewy meadow.[72] But what is the point of so blatant a discrepancy between simile and narrative context? The bees find themselves in a setting of joy and happiness (these features being pronounced in the Homeric text); that of the Lemnian women is all sorrow and lament by contrast. Evidently, the atmosphere evoked by the simile is meant to be yet another reminder of a happy idyllic affair on the wane by now—a fleeting happiness soon to give way to the sorrow that subsequent action must bring with it.[73] Thus the strange contrast of moods seems to point to a contrast between two "worlds": a "world" of peaceful happiness in love and one of warlike adventure. By adopting the womens' perspective, Apollonius strikes yet another note of discontent with the heroic conception of war as projected by Homeric epic.

There is one conclusion that can be clearly drawn from our analysis of the similes. The inquiry into the function of Homeric allusions in the Apollonian text makes it possible for us to locate with a fair degree of accuracy the new epic poet's aesthetic position in between the two poles of (modernizing) revitalization and subversion of the traditional epic. Although allusions to Homer occasionally aim at integration (namely, the reproduction of the Homeric referent and its function without any significant discontinuities), in the great majority of instances it is the polemical-subversive tendency that prevails. In this sense, Apollonius is not concerned to "rescue" old epic; rather, he stands nearer the other pole. In the light of the conclusions reached, it would no doubt be going too far were one to contend that Apollonius' principal programme in the *Argonautica* is one of demonstrating that epic as such is impossible;[74] it is rather the case that his new epic is designed to show the impracticability of writing

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[72] Well pointed out by Kofler (1992) 310 ff.; Reitz (1996) 20 ff.

[73] Similarly Drögemüller (1956) 242 f. Kofler (1992) believes that the simile is intended to deflect the attention from the sadness of individual destinies.

[74] This radical view is emphatically held by Schwinge (1986) (see esp. 153: Apollonius shows the "umfassende Unmöglichkeit" of epic); cf. my criticism of this position in: *GGA* 240 (1988) 84 f.

epic in the traditional manner.[75] Apollonius demonstrates that a modern epic is possible—through radical innovation. That the reader should clearly see such innovation being achieved through constant intertextual reference to Homer is the result of Homer's dominant position in the tradition of the genre. The new epic can only be articulated as such by constant evocation of the genre's most authoritative representative—and by distancing itself from him through innovation.

[75] Kouremenos (1996) argues for the opposite view (see above n. 13); according to him Apollonius' similes are proof of his will to uphold the tradition of Homeric epic.

"HOMERIC" FORMULARITY IN THE *ARGONAUTICA* OF APOLLONIUS OF RHODES*

Marco Fantuzzi

Despite several decades of studies on the orality of the composition and transmission of the Homeric poems, it is difficult, nowadays, to be sure about the genesis and function of the formulas[1] and of the various semantically marginal and usually repetitive[2] phrases which are characteristic of Homeric diction. More particularly, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which, particularly in the most recent stages of the fixation of the text as transmitted to us through writing, these standardized elements still reflect an oral composition based entirely or partially on memorization and extemporaneity, or rather suggest a solemn linguistic traditionality and the stable values of the heroic world in what can be properly called an "aesthetics of regularity".[3] It cannot be denied that already at least some of the "formular" repetitions of the Homeric poems were not at all (or only partially) functional at the level of transmission or composition, but rather that they implied a "contextual surplus", through which they characterized a context as standing in relation to another context or contexts which they were intended to evoke.[4]

As for hexametric poetry after Homer, some have taken for granted that use of the storehouse of Homeric expressions or para-formulaic internal repetitiveness is still in the classical age a sufficient symptom of orality;[5] in reality, however, the adoption of the "formular style"

* I am grateful to Richard Hunter and Maria Noussia for their help, *inter alia*, with the English of this paper.

[1] As variously understood: the formulas of Parry *stricto sensu*, characterized by formal identity and metrical fixity, then the formulas by analogy and/or the structural formulas, the "mobile formulas" to which especially Hainsworth has drawn our attention.

[2] Examined as a parallel principle (being, in reality, substantially alternative) to the traditional formulas by Edzard Visser and Egbert Bakker.

[3] The definition belongs to Russo (1976).

[4] Cf. most recently Mueller (1984) 150–8; Edwards (1985); Pucci (1987); Martin (1989) 171–9, and the detailed analyses by Di Benedetto (1998).

[5] I am referring to the studies of J. Notopoulos on the "Homeric" *Hymns* (1962

had already come to be a deliberate and self-conscious choice regarding composition, namely a form of imitation of the Homeric text as regular code and model (i.e. as a model both of para-formulaic repetitiveness and a code involving the use of ready-made phrases), and constitutes the macrostructural *pendant* of the occasional allusions to single passages of previous poets which are common to all Hellenistic genres. An epigram by the late Callimachean Pollianus in the 2nd cent. B.C. (*AP* 11.130) was thus able to reject epic on the grounds that writing in hexameters allowed bad epic poets (κυκλικοί) constantly to repeat insignificant Homeric phrases of the type αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα, while an elegiac author such as Pollianus himself was not allowed to repeat precisely a phrase of Parthenius: "let me become like an 'eared beast' (Callim. fr. 1.31 Pf. = Massimilla), if I ever write 'from the rivers sallow celandine' (Parthen. *SH* 644)".

Some attention was paid to the problem of what ought not to be imitated from Homer, in the belief that there existed many stereotyped—and therefore less congenial[6]—elements of Homeric formularity whose imitation had to be avoided. I have already mentioned the αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα of Homer's *bad* imitators according to Pollianus; but already in the 5th cent. B.C. some elements of formular repetition in Homer appear to have been considered features boring enough to stir the mockery of the comic poets: Cratinus (*PCG* 355) made fun of Homer for his excessive use (διὰ τὸ πλεονάσαι) of the phrase τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος in the most common formula to introduce direct speeches, τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, which recurs at least a hundred times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (with the verb of saying sometimes varied to προσεφώνεε, and always followed by epithet + proper name in the second hemistich). It is true that Cratinus' attitude could be one of the many forms of parody of earlier poetry which are found in comedy (and Cratinus was particularly fond of Homeric

and 1964) and Page (1965) on Archilochus, already well criticized by Kirk (1966). For the possibility that internal repetition is a mark of orality still in Euripides, cf. Prato (1978).

[6] I personally find very suggestive for the famous Callimachean epigram on Aratus (*AP* 9.507) the explanation of Kaibel, which has been recently supported with new arguments by Cameron (1995) 374–9: "it is Hesiod's song and style. The man from Soloi has not captured the poet entire (not down to the last detail; not the most extreme feature of the poet), but skimmed off the sweetest part of his verses". This would supply clear evidence that Callimachus was expressing the difference between what was the best and what had to be avoided in a Hellenistic epic, concerning the imitation of one of the great epics of the past.

parody, cf. his *'Οδυσσῆς*, *PCG* 143 ff.), and therefore we cannot ascertain whether and to what extent this mockery reflected genuine distaste for Homeric formularity, or, most importantly, whether such distaste was shared by the majority of public opinion.

The regularity of the long phrases which introduced and concluded direct Homeric speeches was in fact perceived in the classical period as a distinctive and peculiar element of Homeric poetry, which of itself did not detract from the poetry's qualities: from Plato to Aristarchus and the anonymous author of *On the Sublime* both the absence of such introductory phrases (as in the case of sudden transitions from *oratio obliqua* integrated in the narration to *oratio recta*)[7] and also the absence of a *verbum dicendi* to signal the passage from authorial narration to direct discourse by a character could be interpreted as a kind of anomaly with respect to the normal order of the epic presentation and to its rigorous distinction between author's narration and a character's direct speech—an anomaly through which, according to Plato, the author tries to make the reader believe that it is not Homer who is talking, but this or that character.[8]

It is, however, a fact that the specific introductory phrase which Cratinus parodied, namely τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, reappears very rarely after Homer, not only in other poetic genres but also in epic itself,[9] and such post-Homeric demise of the formula most used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* could be a clue to the fact that the "aesthetics of regularity" and of repetition with which post-Homeric epic had reconstructed Homeric formularity had certain limitations and

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[7] So, e.g. *Il.* 4.301 ff., where Homer narrates how Nestor "first gave orders to the drivers of the horses, and warned them to hold their horses in check (ἐχέμεν: *oratio obliqua* in the infinitive) and not to be fouled (κλονέεσθαι, still inf.) in the multitude: 'Let no man . . . dare (μηδέ τις . . . μεμάτω, imperative) to fight alone with the Trojans, etc.'", and Aristonicus—therefore in all probability already Aristarchus—remarked: "in the subsequent verses (the poet) made a deviation in the speech (ἀπέστροφε τὸν λόγον), pretending that it was Nestor himself who was speaking" (*sch.* A ad *Il.* 4.303).

[8] Pl. *R.* 393a–b. For the ancient reflections on the introductory phrases in Homer as signs of division between narrative and mimesis, cf. Fantuzzi (1988) 47–58.

[9] Before Cratinus only in *h.Ap.* 474 τοὺς δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη (ἑκαεργὸς Ἀπόλλων), Stesich. *PMGF* S11.1–3 τ]ὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος ποτέφα (cf. also S148.i.6 τ]ọν δ' ὧδ' ἀμειβόμενος ποτέειπεν), and in a papyrus fragment which could belong either to a pseudo-Hesiodic work (fr. 280.25 M.-W.) or to the late archaic epos *Minyas* (*PEG* 7.25): τὸν δ' ἀπ]ạμ[ειβό]μενος προσεφώνεε; after Cratinus in Antim. fr. 90 Matthews τὸν δ' ἀ]πạμ[ειβό]μενος προσέφη (κρείων Διομήδης) and Theoc. *Id.* 25.42 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη (Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός).

taboos—namely that, even for a language as dependent upon Homer as that of post-Homeric epic, anything "overused" by Homer might in fact be problematic.

It is certain that some linguistic phenomena which were more or less semantically marginal to the context, such as formulaic phrases or "ornamental" epithets and repetitions in general—features which are usually, though not always, interpreted nowadays as a heritage from the oral genesis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and therefore accepted as one of the elements which distinguish the Homeric poems from subsequent literary texts—were elements of the Homeric poems which caused Hellenistic scholars particular discomfort and aroused their suspicions. In different ways, both Zenodotus and Aristarchus were reluctant to accept all such phenomena as authentically Homeric elements, while they considered some at least as interpolations in or "corruptions" of an original text, in which the contextual pertinence of all phrases and verses was nearly always taken for granted.[10]

In the case of epithets, it is not difficult to see how they were painstakingly scrutinized by the Alexandrian grammarians, who recorded several cases of contextual inappropriateness and, not being able to grasp their "oral" function, considered them ἄκαιροι "inopportune", and at times attempted to emend them, as did Zenodotus at *Il.* 11.123, preferring an unequivocal κακόφων to the adjective δαΐφρων, which has the meanings "warlike" in the *Iliad* and "wise" in the *Odyssey*,[11] and which, therefore, seems to have been used off the point of Antimachus, a character who is reproached in the next line for corruption. More frequently, their interventions excised the verse which contained semantically doubtful epithets, as did Aristarchus with the verse where Menelaos calls Alexander/Paris δῖος "excellent" just during a prayer in which he asks to defeat him (*Il.* 3.352), or the verse where Menelaos calls Antilochos διοτρεφής in a discourse where he is terribly angry with him (*Il.* 23.581). In other cases the "improper" epithets were justified on the grounds that they would have expressed a constant "natural"

[10] An especially dense and illuminating synthesis concerning the "flabbier" texts of Homer (to be found both in papyri and indirect quotations) which augmented its size with verses that "slow the pace of the narrative without materially altering the action" is now provided by Haslam (1997) 66–79. The "quantitative" stabilization (Rengakos [1993] 16) of the Homeric texts in more or less the size we know through the medieval manuscripts dates from the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C., most probably as a result of the activity of Zenodotus and, above all, of Aristarchus though even this post-Aristarchan vulgate did not normally include plenty of Aristarchus' atheteses, that are attested by the *scholia*.

[11] As the ancients very well knew: cf. Rengakos (1994a) 68 f. n. 249.

quality, without consideration of the circumstances: this is the way the exegetical *scholia* behave in the case of *Il.* 15.371, where the sky towards which Nestor raises his arms to pray is called "starry" even though it is full day-light (*sch. ad loc.* οὐ τὸν τότε, ἀλλὰ τὸν φύσει ἀστερόεντα), or in the *sch.* on *Od.* 6.58 regarding the clothes which are κλυτά even if Nausikaa is carrying them to be washed; in this way also Aristarchus treated the moon, which is φαεινή at *Il.* 8.555 although the splendour of the stars, all clearly seen (cf. v. 559), would mean that the moon was not full. On other occasions the grammarians recorded the inappropriateness of the epithets but did not intervene in the text: Aristarchus worked in this way in most cases, cf. *sch.* on *Il.* 6.160, 7.75, 23.304. Besides, the relevance of an epithet could become the object of long debates: this is the case of *Il.* 21.218, regarding the streams of Skamandros, polluted from the blood of the dead but nevertheless described as ἐρατεινά; Aristarchus considered the adjective ἄκαιρος, but the exegetical *scholia* defended it as suggestive of the pity for the river's waters, which had lost their beauty.

In the case of repeated verses, it is well known that at least Aristarchus marked with an asterisk all verses found more than once in both poems, and attempted afterwards to decide in each case which one to preserve and which to athetize. It is equally well known that Zenodotus, Apollonius' contemporary, oriented his judgement through analogous parameters: according to Aristonicus, in the *sch.* A on *Il.* 9.26–31 (where 9.26–8 = 2.139–41), Zenodotus "with regard to the repeated verses" would have doubted them "for no necessary reason (that is, they were not inappropriate to the context), but because they are reported elsewhere" (πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τοῦ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους φέρεσθαι; cf. also *sch.* A on *Il.* 8.493). This obviously does not mean that Zenodotus doubted one of the two or more occurrences of *all* repeated verses but that he athetized or, more probably, simply signalled as unworthy of Homer[12] those clearly irrelevant to the context, and therefore suspected them of being "citations" from other passages where these same verses could be considered more or less relevant.[13]

Repeated verses or groups of verses which we interpret nowadays as expressions of "typical situations" were often excised by the Alexandrian critics. Two examples, among those less suspectable for us. In *Il.* 23.772 Athena γυῖα δ' ἔθηκεν ἐλαφρά, πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὕπερθεν for Odysseus who starts the foot-race; this verse, which also occurs at *Il.* 5.122 (Athena produces the same effect on Diomedes) and 13.61 (Poseidon on the Greeks), was athetized by Aristarchus on the grounds that there was no need for this intervention, since Odysseus was just behind, and Athena also ensures the victory of Odysseus by causing his competitor

[12] Cf. West (1998) VI f. For a full review of the modern views, and a new appraisal of the editorial technique of Zenodotus, cf. Montanari (1998) 1–9.

[13] Cf. Nickau (1977) 72 ff. and Lührs (1992) 151–3.

Aias to slip. At *Il.* 11.355 f., in order to describe Hektor's dizzy feeling, the couplet which had also described the effect of Diomedes' strike against Aeneas at *Il.* 5.309–10 is repeated, στῆ δὲ γνὺξ ἐριπὼν καὶ ἐρείσατο χειρὶ παχείῃ/γαίης· ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε κελαινὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε: verse 356 was doubted by Zenodotus and athetized by Aristophanes and Aristarchus who, according to Aristonicus (*sch.* A on *Il.* 11.356), would have explained the athetesis by the fact that, unlike the very strong, almost mortal blow Aeneas suffered, the one which Hektor receives on this occasion does not seem strong enough to cause the coming of the "black night" over his eyes.

Particularly persistent also was the impatience with which the Alexandrian critics considered the verbatim repetition of one or more verses from the sender's speech to the speech that the messenger reports—so persistent that already some of the ancients (though the chronology is uncertain) even "proved Homer's poetic ἀδυναμία from the fact that he allowed the same speeches to be said by the senders of the messengers and by the messengers etc.".[14]

For example, in the second book of the *Iliad*, Zeus bids Oneiros appear to Agamemnon and tell him to attack Troy, which would eventually fall to the Greeks, as the other gods had agreed after Hera's urgings (*Il.* 2.11–5). The same message is soon afterwards repeated by Oneiros to Agamemnon (with necessary additions: five introductory and two concluding verses), and almost all of this speech (with the expansion by Oneiros) is exactly reported by Agamemnon to the assembly of the Greeks (*Il.* 2.23–34 = 60–70). We know from Aristonicus (*sch.* A on *Il.* 2.60–71) that Zenodotus doubted the second occurrence of this block of verses, presenting in their place Zeus' order to Agamemnon in only two and a half verses summarizing eleven lines. In fact, it is very common in the epic to report verbatim pieces of direct speech, as Aristarchus already objected against Zenodotus (as reported by Aristonicus *ibid.*), and as Zenodotus himself also certainly knew—in this specific case the particular heaviness of three repetitions of a block of five verses in the space of seventy lines might have led Zenodotus to his doubts. However, there are also several instances of similar interventions by Aristarchus, though Aristarchus appears to have been very careful in specifying the reasons of the inappropriateness of the repetitions to be athetized. For instance, in *Iliad* 15 Zeus gets Iris to carry a message to Poseidon in which he asks for his obedience on the grounds of Zeus' superiority and seniority, as all gods but Poseidon admit (15.165–7), and these points reappear without alteration in Iris' speech to Poseidon (15.181–3); Aristarchus considered the phrase superfluous in the words of Zeus (Iris did not need to be convinced about Zeus' superiority), and therefore he athetized all but the first

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[14] Porphyr. *Quaest.Homer.* I, pp. 131 f. Sodano.

> verse, while he preserved the phrase in the second passage where Iris uses it in order to persuade Poseidon to agree with Zeus' message. In some cases, however, Aristarchus was as drastic as Zenodotus. In the fourth book of the *Iliad*, when the herald Talthybios is being told to summon Makhaon, Agamemnon specifies that he is needed to dress Menelaos' wound (4.195–7) and these verses are exactly repeated by Talthybios to Makhaon (205–7): Aristarchus athetized 4.195–7,[15] on the grounds that Talthybios could perfectly see for himself why Makhaon was needed (4.195 παρέλκει "is in excess" according to the *sch.* A *ad loc.*), while the explanation about Menelaos' wound was "necessary" in 4.205–7 (cf. *sch.* on 4.205). There also exist cases where Aristarchus was more drastic than Zenodotus. For instance, in the case of *Il.* 9.691 f., where Odysseus reports part of Achilles' speech, Zenodotus doubted only the second verse, while Aristarchus athetized both.

In conclusion, both Zenodotus and Aristarchus considered that the original Homeric text presented fewer formular repetitions and fewer repeated verses than those contained in the vulgate (and fewer than those we ourselves are disposed to admit), even if they handled the text in different ways. There exist surprising analogies between the attitude of these critics and Apollonius' attitude towards the epic style. It is difficult to establish whether, in his reduction of the number of Homeric repetitions, Zenodotus was influenced by the innovative taste of contemporary poetry which was hostile to repetition,[16] or, in this matter too, it was Zenodotus who influenced Apollonius.[17] There is also the possibility that a widely diffused belief in an original text of Homer which was less repetitive than the vulgate guided Zenodotus and Aristarchus in their attempts to "restore" a Homer less rich in formulas than we ourselves are ready to accept for archaic epos. In any event, there are clear similarities between the way in which Apollonius conceived the internal formularity of his poem and the probable expectations and "desires" of his contemporaries regarding the "real" formularity of Homer's text, once alleged interpolations had been removed.

As for the phrases introducing direct speeches, Apollonius allows them a degree of repetitiveness beyond all other stylistic elements of his language and even establishes a functional regularity that is more

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[15] On the extension of the athetesis cf. Lührs (1992) 245 n. 321.

[16] As is claimed e.g. by Arend (1933) 1 and Nickau (1977) 84 and 105 f.

[17] On the debated relation between the Homeric choices of Zenodotus and the choices of the *Argonautica*, cf. Erbse (1953) and Rengakos (1993) 53–87.

than Homeric (in the *Argonautica* there are no Homeric ἀποστροφαί, namely the abrupt transitions from *oratio recta* to *obliqua* of the kind of *Il.* 4.301 ff., for which cf. n. 7 above) in contrast with the freedom that other genres, and at times also post-Homeric hexametric poetry, had displayed towards the rigid formalization of Homeric introductory phrases. I especially mean the liberty not to emphasize the break between narration and speech, which in the Homeric text was guaranteed *inter alia* by the coincidence between the beginning of a speech and the beginning of a verse, and to make the speech start in the middle of a verse, which happens already in Hes. *Op.* 453 f., and then becomes common, e.g., in tragedy; or else the freedom of not announcing direct speech in advance, but explaining it with a parenthetical *verbum dicendi* after its beginning, as happens in the hexametrical poetry of Callimachus or Theocritus. The *Argonautica* does not present either of these post-Homeric possibilities.

On the other hand, however, Apollonius strictly avoids the impression of distaste of the kind that Homer provoked in Cratinus, because the phrases introducing direct speeches in the *Argonautica*, even if they are very Homerizing (at least in the first book), always differ from Homer, and therefore suggest a programmatic "de-automatization" of the most formular Homeric introductions to speech, though quite often this difference is produced by the use of other Homeric expressions: indeed Apollonius sometimes repeats from Homer the most rare elements, like *hapaxes* or *dis legomena* (cf., e.g., 1.293, 486, 699), or uses quite new words (cf., e.g., 1.241, 250, 277, 344, 864); what is more important, it is often to these rarities or novelties that Apollonius gives a para-formulaic flavour inside his work.[18]

Apollonius also uses a wide range of *verba dicendi*, rather than resorting to the small number of stereotyped forms (εἶπε, ἔλεγε, ἔφη, φάτο/ἔφατο/ἔκφατο and ἀμείβεσθαι) to which different literary genres were more and more reduced (phrases introducing direct speeches had in other genres most probably become less stylistically emphatic than in the epic, and therefore closer to the use of common language[19]). Moreover, where the Homerizing appearance of Apollonius'

[18] For a detailed analysis of the cited examples, and in general for some further thoughts on the introductory phrases to the speech, cf. Fantuzzi (1988) 65–85.

[19] In Homer the *verba dicendi* which are (or will become) the most common are used in 18% of the introductory phrases, in Hesiod in 24%, in 93% of the frag-

introductory phrases is more prominent, this is hardly ever the result of the Homeric nature of the *verbum dicendi* (which was the reason for Cratinus' rejection), but of the Homeric nature of the other components of the introductory phrase.

Besides, especially from the first book onwards, the introductory phrases of Apollonius re-use earlier introductions of the *Argonautica* at least as often as they reveal a direct connection with the Homeric texts as models—they are, in other words, more para-Apollonian than para-Homeric.

As examples let us take the first phrases which introduce a speech in the *Argonautica*. The very first is 1.240 f. ὧδε δ' ἕκαστος/ἔννεπεν εἰσορόων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἀίσσοντας. For 1.241 we can cite two clear Homeric patterns: *Od.* 16.26 τέρψομαι εἰσορόων νέον ἄλλοθεν ἔνδον ἐόντα/ and *Od.* 10.99 ὁρῶμεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἀίσσοντα/. Moreover, the adverb ὧδε, being a generic prolepsis of the contents of a speech, is used in a substantially analogous way to its use in Homer, where it had appeared only in introductory phrases with τις as indefinite subject (cf. e.g. ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκε, more than 20 times in Homer)—in fact, in this first case in the *Argonautica* the adverb still appears in combination with the indefinite ἕκαστος, but in the rest of the *Argonautica* its use will be extended to nine introductory phrases with definite subjects and adressees. However, the verb ἐν(ν)έπω had introduced a direct speech in Homer only at *Il.* 8.412 (also here in combination with the acc. μῦθον, not absolutely as in Apollonius), and had occurred almost always (about 30 times) inside direct speeches in the special meaning "to report", most often accompanied by the neuter accusative νημερτές *vel. sim.* Apollonius uses, instead, this verb in about ten introductory phrases, both in the simple form (2.310 and 4.1596) and above all in compounds with προσ- (1.711, 792; 3.51, 78, 433, 474, 710).

The second introductory phrase is 1.250, ἄλλη δ' εἰς ἑτέρην ὀλοφύρετο δάκρυ χέουσα, where the Homeric heritage is most evident in the second hemistich (cf. *Il.* 8.245 ὀλοφύρατο δάκρυ χέοντα/ and 22.79 ὀδύρετο δάκρυ χέουσα), but what in Apollonius is the *verbum dicendi*, ὀλοφύρομαι, had never been so used in Homer: in more than one third of its occurrences it was inside phrases introducing speeches, but it had indicated precisely the speaker's feeling of dismay, not the act of "speaking", which was regularly expressed by another verb, a proper *verbum dicendi* (one thinks especially of the formula καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, which is found a dozen of times).

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ments of choral lyric, in 50% of Antimachus, in 43% of the *Batrachomyomachia*. They are again used only in the 29% of the phrases which introduce speeches in the *Argonautica*. Cf. Führer (1967) 9–11.

The third introduction is 1.277 καὶ τοῖον ἔπος φάτο κηδοσύνῃσιν. The difference from the stock of the Homeric introductions to speech is guaranteed by the noun κηδοσύνη, which appears to be a neologism of Apollonius from a nominal root which is only attested from the fifth century (cf. κηδόσυνος in E. *Or.* 1017), even if it probably carries an echo of the Homeric clause κηδόμενός(-η, -οί) περ (or τε) (around a dozen of occurrences), while the *verbum dicendi* has an exact parallel only in the isolated introduction of *Od.* 20.111 ἔπος φάτο, σῆμα ἄνακτι/, which simplifies the hendiadys ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε, one of the commonest introductory phrases of Homer (more than forty occurrences); cf. also the isolated ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε of *Od.* 4.370. Furthermore, in accordance with the taste of Apollonius for generic prolepsis (cf. above on ὧδε), Apollonius qualifies ἔπος with a demonstrative, but he does so by using τοῖος, whose demonstrative-proleptic value is completely unknown to Homer, where it was most often used either as a correlative of οἷος or as intensive-exclamatory and anyway as a demonstrative normally had an epanaleptic and not proleptic value, and is also very rare in phrases introducing speeches in the post-Homeric poetic tradition. It is significant that Apollonius grants this very un-Homeric demonstrative a particularly regular role in the deictic prolepsis of discourse in the introductory phrases of the *Argonautica*, where it is found around thirty times.

The absence in Apollonius of any form of substantial repetition of Homeric patterns for the typical scenes is well known.[20] As for internal re-use of the same verses to describe analogous scenes or situations, we find only some ten cases in Apollonius, never more than one and a half lines long, and two of those cases are most probably interpolations.[21] There is unanimous agreement about 1.1363 = 2.1285 Ἠὼς δ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐελδομένοισι φαάνθη: the first occurrence is athetised by all modern editors, as it is considered an "editorial" interpolation drawn from the end of the second book to close the first as well, since in the first book the day-break had been already described in 1.1359 f. Also in the case of 2.1186 = 4.348a εἴ τε μετ' ἀφνειὴν θείου πόλιν Ὀρχομένοιο, it is recognized by most modern scholars that the second occurrence has to be removed as non-functional to the context (cf. however Livrea *ad loc.*), and the same opinion usually applies to 2.381b = 2.1017 μόσσυνας, καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπώνυμοι ἔνθεν ἔασι.[22] As for 2.1154 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὔνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις (δεδαῆσθαι)

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[20] Cf. especially Knight (1995); Cairns (1998) attempts a different approach.

[21] For a healthy rejection of the attempts to emend as many internal repetitions in Apollonius as possible, cf. Vian (1973) 98 f.

[22] Cf. Fränkel (1964) 35 f., and the review of Erbse in *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 160.

= 3.354 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὔνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις (γενεήν τε/ἴδμεναι), both cases occur in speeches of Argos, and the phrase, which introduces in the first case the presentation of the names of Phrixos' sons to the Argonauts and in the second the presentation of the Argonauts to Aietes, could be a sort of "diplomatic formula" which contributes to the linguistic characterization of Argos, a character to whom Apollonius entrusts precisely the role of the formal diplomat.[23] Moreover, this precise repetition which connects the presentation of the sons of Phrixos and of the Argonauts occurs together with two other almost exact repetitions (in the presentation of the Argonauts) of the words with which Jason had responded to the comments that Argos had made on the kinship connection between the sons of Phrixos and the Argonauts: cf. 3.359 ~ 2.1160 and 3.360 ~ 2.1162. It is more difficult to question the authenticity (or explain the interpolation) of 1.2 = 4.1002, 1.317 ~ 3.887, 1.526 (final Adonean)-527 = 4.582 (final Adonean)-583, 2.1145a = 2.1270 and 1.1103 = 3.145 (a concluding phrase of direct speech).

The repetition of parts of direct speeches between their first formulation and the speech in which they are reported seems particularly significant. The *Argonautica* includes several cases whose brevity is at variance with the style of the Homeric vulgate, which involves extended repetitions of several lines: cf. 1.705 f. = 1.714 f. (also 707 ~ 716) in the speech of Hypsipyle to Iphinoe, then reported by Iphinoe to Jason (in this last, the second hemistich of 712 and v. 713 paraphrase the second hemistich of 703 + 704); 3.409 f. ~ 3.495 f., in the description of the fight with the bulls, as Aietes presents it to Jason and Jason repeats it to his comrades (other details, supplied by Aietes in 3.411–8, are paraphrased in a substantially different way by Jason in 3.497–500);[24] 4.1106 f., formulation of Alkinoos' sentence about how to cope with the request made by the Colchians

[23] Cf. Färber (1932) 97. However many modern scholars acknowledge that Argos actually makes a real mess of diplomacy: see Campbell (1983a) 29 f.

I do not believe that Zenodotus doubted the text of *Il.* 18.173–7 just because he was sceptical about the unique construction of ἐπιθύω + present infinitive (*Il.* 18.175): cf. Rengakos (1993) 62 f.

[24] Cf. Hunter (1989a) 40, who also notes that the repetition 3.495 f. = 409 f. + paraphrasis of 411–8 in 497–500 "is introduced by a remark which calls attention to the difference from Homeric technique: ἕκαστα γὰρ οὔ νύ τι τέκμωρ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ οὔτε κεν ὔμμι διειρομένοισι πέλοιτο. The partial 'Homeric' repetition in a reported speech reinforces the programmatic force of these verses by playfully suggesting what the poem would look like if it were written in Homeric style".

that Medea is given back to them, repeated in 4.1118 f., inside the *oratio obliqua* where Arete communicates to the herald the message he has to carry to Jason; finally, 4.1323 = 4.1358; 4.1327 ~ 4.1353; 4.1328 ~ 4.1354, the speech of the Libyan heroines to Jason and Jason's account of it to his comrades—in this last case two of the three repeated verses concern the riddle of the "tribute" which the Argonauts have to offer to their "mother" = their ship: riddles were naturally among the phrases most apt for verbatim repetition.

A clear sign of Apollonius' care with formulaic repetition are certain para-formulaic expressions related to the protagonists or recurrent themes, where the mechanism of analogic variation turns out to be more powerful than that of verbatim repetition.

The Argonauts as a group are indicated with the same hemistich only in two cases and in each of them only twice: ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖος(ν) στόλος(ν) (2.970 and 1091) for the first part of the verse up to the bucolic diairesis (short variant: ἡρώων ἐς ὅμιλον, 3.1166), and ἀριστήων στόλον ἀνδρῶν twice for the second hemistich, varied through ἀριστήων ἐς ὅμιλον once (2.458, 2.958; 1.109 respectively); for the central part of the verse, from A_1 or A_2 to the bucolic diairesis, there is a group of "flexible" variations of these syntagms, each one different from the other: ἀριστήων ἀνδρῶν στόλον (3.1006), ἡμιθέων ἀνδρῶν γένος (1.548: *v.l.* μένος) and ἀριστῆες,[25] μακάρων γένος (4.1773). The "external" formularity, namely the imitation of phrases from archaic epic, is as unrepetitive as the "internal" formularity: only the genitive ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων at the beginning of the verse is a direct echo of archaic epic (four times in *Odyssey* and four times in Hesiod; the phrase is also found divided in enjambement), but the noun στόλος, which always accompanies this genitive in Apollonius, is a non-Homeric word, while the Homeric ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν of *Il.* 12.23 is isolatedly echoed by ἡμιθέων ἀνδρῶν γένος of *Arg.* 1.548.

The idea of formularity in the *Argonautica* is also well shown by the expressions referring to the object of the venture, namely the Golden Fleece, which is mentioned fifteen times. It is hard to imagine that the poetic language would offer many possibilities for the term "fleece", and "golden" could only be χρύσε(ι)ον. And yet Apollonius achieves an internal formularity which is as unrepetitive as pos-

[25] I accept, with Vian, Fränkel's emendation; for a defence of the transmitted ἀριστήων, cf. Livrea (1973) *ad loc.*

sible by playing not only with a very measured alternation between the two nouns κῶας and δέρος (the former eight times, the latter seven times) and between the two forms of the adjective χρύσειον (eleven times) and χρύσεον (four times), but also with hyperbaton, which always separates the noun from the adjective in the phrases with κῶας and does so three times in the phrases with δέρος.[26] In effect, if syntagmatic juxtaposition was an almost constant characteristic of Homeric formulaic noun-epithet phrases, hyperbaton interrupts many of the noun-epithet syntagms of Apollonius: it is enough to look at the programmatic proemium of the first book, where out of the five combinations of noun + epithet or + apposition four are in hyperbaton and one in enjambement.

Apart from the phrases introducing speeches, the only phrase which presents a frequency and a degree of fixity comparable to those of Homeric formulas is ναῦς θοή, which appears 7 times, but behaves more like a "mobile formula" of Hainsworth than as a formula of Parry's type—in three cases it is in the form νῆα θοήν and at the beginning of the verse, in all other cases it is placed in various other positions and in half of its occurrences it is interrupted by hyperbaton. Besides, the only relatively common position of the syntagm, at the beginning of the line (three times), is a *hapax* in the *Iliad* and a *hapax* in the *Odyssey* (where there are some thirty occurrences of the accusative in other places in the line), almost as if Apollonius had carefully avoided adding the metrical echo of a Homeric internal formularity to his small "internal" formula νῆα θοήν at the beginning of the line. I would say the same of the more frequent expressions for "swift feet", namely 1.539 κραιπνοῖσι (trochaic caesura)... πόδεσσιν (end of verse) and 2.428 κραιπνούς (penthemimeral caesura)... πόδας (bucolic diairesis) = 4.79, which never use either the order or the metrical placement of either of the two terms in the common Homeric

[26] χρύσε(ι)ον κῶας: 1.4 χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ; 2.1193 κῶας ἄγειν χρύσειον ἐπίρροθοι ἄμμι πέλεσθε; 3.13 χρύσεον Αἰήταο μεθ' Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἄγοιντο; 4.162 ἔνθα δ' ὁ μὲν χρύσειον ἀπὸ δρυὸς αἴνυτο κῶας; 4.341 κῶας μὲν χρύσειον, ἐπεί σφισιν αὐτὸς ὑπέστη; 4.439 χρύσειον μέγα κῶας ὑπότροπος αὖτις ὀπίσσω; 4.1035 χρύσεον αὐτίκα κῶας ἀνάξετε νοστήσαντες; 4.1142 χρύσεον αἰγλῆεν κῶας βάλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο.

χρύσε(ι)ον δέρος: 1.889 χρύσειον βασιλῆι δέρος κομίσειαν ἄγοντα; 2.1224 τῷ εἰ μὴ φιλότητι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσει; 3.88 ῥηιδίως μιν ἑλόντα δέρος χρύσειον οἴω; 3.180 εἴ κ' ἐθέλοι φιλότητι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσαι; 3.404 δώσω τοι χρύσειον ἄγειν δέρος, ἤν κ' ἐθέλῃσθα; 4.87 δώσω δὲ χρύσειον ἐγὼ δέρος, εὐνήσασα; 4.1319 ἴδμεν ἐποιχομένους χρύσεον δέρος, ἴδμεν ἕκαστα.

formula πο(σ)σὶ κραιπνοῖσι of *Il.* 6.505; 17.190; 21.247; 22.138; 23.749; *Od.* 14.33 (after the trochaic or the penthemimeral *caesura*).

Let us examine some further instances of the tendency to set internal against external formularity. The noun μέθυ "wine" is combined four times with the epithet λαρός (twice in the form μέθυ λαρόν before the trochaic *caesura*, 1.456 and 1.659, and twice in the form λαρὸν μέθυ before the bucolic diairesis, 1.473 and 1.968); however λαρός never occurs in noun-epithet combinations of archaic epic together with μέθυ (or οἶνος), though Apollonius and his readers may have felt its use to be "authorized" by its standard interpretation as ἡδύς,[27] which was the most common epithet of μέθυ in Homer (nine times), and to have 'originated' from the contextual contiguity of ἡδύς and λαρός used of οἶνος in *Od.* 2.349 f. οἶνον . . . ἡδὺν ὅτις . . . λαρώτατος. Radically new on the other hand was another small Apollonian "formula", /λαίφεσι πεπταμένοισ(ιν) of 4.299 and 4.1623, again found, in a different position, in 2.903 (/λαιφέων πεπταμένων), and in 4.1229 f. πεπταμένοισι/λαίφεσι, since it is not documented before Apollonius, nor does it appear to be a catachresis from the common language, because it is almost solely attested in later hexametric poetry,[28] where it may be an Apollonian echo. The same is true for 1.967 θυηπολίης τ' ἐμέλοντο/ ~ 1.1124 θυηπολίης ἐμέλοντο/, where the nominal formation θυηπολίη is attested for the first time here in Apollonius (the corresponding verb is found only from Aeschylus onwards); for 3.823 f. βάλε φέγγος/Ἠριγενής ~ 4.981 Ἠὼς ἠριγενὴς φέγγος βάλε, where, besides the absolute novelty of the whole verbal phrase φέγγος βάλλειν, even the single φέγγος appeared in archaic epos only in *h.Dem.* 278; for 3.1281 and 1321 θεῶν ἔμπλειον ὀδόντων, of Jason's helmet in his fight with the bulls, where the description of this quite unusual arm is complicated by the use of the ambiguous θοός (not only, and never in Homer, "sharp" as here, but also most commonly, and always in Homer, "swift"—often said of arms!); for 3.503 and 967, 4.693 ἄνεῳ καὶ ἄναυδοι before the trochaic caesura, where the second term is most probably a gloss with which Apollonius commented on the debated syntactic nature of the Homeric ἄνεω *vs* ἄνεῳ (the first form

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[27] Cf. Apollon. 107.5; Hsch. λ 340 Latte; *sch. Il.* 19.316; *sch. Arg.* 1.456 and 659.

[28] Opp. *Hal.* 1.222; Greg. Naz. *carm. mor.*, *PG* XXXVII, col. 543.10 and *de se ipso*, *ibid.*, col. 1376.1; Nonn. *Dion.* 36.409; Iohann. Geom. *PG* CVI, col. 950, carm. 108. Apart from these texts (and the glosses to the first of them), the expression is found again only in the *sch. rec.* to Hes., *Op.* 169 (121 Gaisford).

being usually interpreted as an adverb, the second as the plural nominative of an attribute);[29] for two other couples of Apollonian phrases that join the two typical situations of the need for a cunning device expressed by a character and the assent to his (her) decision expressed by his (her) companions: 2.225 μῆτιν ἐπίρροθον ~ 2.1050, 3.184, and 2.1068 πάντεσσι δ' ἐπίρροθος ἥνδανε μῆτις; 3.781 μῆτις ἐπίκλοπος, and 3.912 πάσῃσι δ' ἐπίκλοπος ἥνδανε μῆτις (both adjectives in Homer referred solely to persons or divinities; see, however, Hes. *Op.* 67 and 78 ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος).

Another nice example of this alternating interplay between internal repetitiveness and repetition of Homer is found in the beginning of the mourning scenes following the deaths of Kyzikos and of Idmon, 1.1057 ff. and 2.837 ff. respectively. The second hemistich of 1.1057, γόων τίλλοντό τε χαίτας/, is the same as the second hemistich of the line which describes the grief of Odysseus' companions for Elpenor (*Od.* 10.567), evidently with the aim of connecting the Homeric scene of mourning to the Argonautic one. On the other hand, there is no exact Homeric model for the first hemistich of 1.1057, ἤματα δὲ τρία πάντα, which, being the same as the first hemistich of 2.837, functions as an internal cross-reference to underline the link between the fortune of Kyzikos and that of Idmon, namely the fact that neither could escape death, even though both knew in advance of their destiny.[30]

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[29] Cf. Rengakos (1994a) 51 and 165.

[30] Cf. Lombardi (1986) 98f.

Emphasis on the interplay between internal formularity and imitation of Homer need not make us forget that there exist beyond any doubt some (actually few) internal references where internal and external "formularity" cooperate, and allusion to a Homeric model increases and puts in evidence the inter-textual coherence. I am thinking above all of such cases as 3.869 and 1152, where the second hemistich θοῆς ἐπεβήσετ' ἀπήνης is repeated at the beginning and at the end of the encounter of Medea with Jason in order to underline the parallelism between this meeting and that of Nausikaa with Odysseus, where the same movement of Nausikaa was described (κούρη δ' ἐπιβήσετ' ἀπήνης: *Od.* 6.78): cf. Ciani (1975) 195 f. More vague is the case of 3.887 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόλιος μὲν ἐυδμήτους λίπ' ἀγυιάς (in the context of the same scene as 3.869) and 1.317 αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥα πόληος ἐυδμήτους λίπ' ἀγυιάς, two verses which by their strong resemblance connect Jason's departure from Tolkos with the moment Medea leaves her city to meet Jason, a meeting which will lead to Medea's desertion of the city: cf. Ciani (1975) 179 f.; they may have been evocative of *Il.* 6.391 ἐυκτιμένας κατ' ἀγυιάς/, where uniquely in Homer "streets" are "well constructed", in the scene where Hektor is about to leave the city for the battle field, just before the meeting with Andromache—another departure from the city which at least in Andromache's mournful presentiments (vv. 497 ff.) seems to be a definite exit.

There are, in fact, many cases where the first time (or the first times) that a phrase from archaic epic enters the *Argonautica* the expression involves a sort of memory which alludes to its archaic context, but then, in successive re-uses, it seems to become an organic and neutral element of Apollonius' diction, no longer alluding to Homer but rather resuming a previous passage of Apollonius. Since this technique does not seem to have been discussed before, I will provide a fairly large number of examples from the first half of the first book.

Ὑποθημοσύνη is in Homer a *dis legomenon* in the form ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν Ἀθήνης (*Il.* 15.412 and *Od.* 16.233). Apollonius takes it up the first and the second time for Athena's advice (1.19 Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνῃσι and 1.112 τεῦξεν Ἀρεστορίδης κείνης—scil. of Athena—ὑποθημοσύνῃσι), and then he frees it from the original context by using it in three other passages unconnected with Athena: 1.367, 2.1146, 3.1246.

In 1.20–2 Apollonius declares his wish to make a catalogue of the Argonauts and then to recount their travels and adventures: μυθησαίμην /ἡρώων δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλὸς ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν/πλαζόμενοι. The phrase πόρους ἁλός before the bucolic caesura occurs in Homer only once (*Od.* 12.259), as an isolated alternative to the more common ὑγρὰ κέλευθα, in a context which is very close to that of Apollonius: Odysseus, in the narration of his wanderings to Alkinoos, states that the meeting with Skylla and Charybdis was the grimmest episode in "all my sufferings, as I explored the routes over the water" (πάντων, ὅσσ' ἐμόγησα πόρους ἁλὸς ἐξερεείνων). Undoubtedly, through the echo of the Homeric *hapax* πόρους ἁλός in the same metrical position, Apollonius creates a link between the narration of the travels of the Argonauts over the sea and the phrase with which Odysseus had summarized the narration of his own trips. The expression becomes afterwards a kind of favourite internal formula for Apollonius, which will be re-used in the same position but with no more reference to the *Odyssey* context in 1.361, then varied both in placement and by hyperbaton in 1.986 πόρους κείνης ἁλός, 4.586 πόρους (*v.l.* πόνους) δολιχῆς ἁλός and 4.1556 τῆσδε πόρους μαίεσθ' ἁλός (always with ἁλός before the bucolic diairesis) or even more radically in 4.335 πόρους εἴρυντο θαλάσσης/.

The rare *nomen agentis* δαήμων is at its first occurrence specified by μαντοσυνάων (1.80 δαήμονα μαντοσυνάων/), a combination which both for its metric measure (second hemistich after the trochaic caesura), and the nominal formation of the second member will have probably echoed one of the few Homeric occurrences of δαήμων, namely *Od.* 16.253 δαήμονε δαιτροσυνάων/. The noun δαήμων is then used two more times in the *Argonautica*, in 2.874 and 2.887, and from it is coined δαημοσύνη as well (always after the trochaic caesura: 2.175 and 1260,

4.1273), but both δαήμων in its last two occurrences and δαημοσύνη appear to become ordinary elements of Apollonius' diction, used without further evocation of Homeric models.

A very frequent Homeric-Hesiodic periphrasis to designate Herakles had been βίη Ἡρακληείη (in Homer seven times, always in *clausula*, with the non-periphrastic designation "Herakles" equally common; in Hesiod, *Th.*, *Op.*, and [*Sc.*], the periphrasis with βίη is found eighteen times, always in *clausula*, "Herakles" only one tenth of times). The first time Apollonius mentions Herakles in the catalogue of the Argonauts (1.122 βίην κρατερόφρονος Ἡρακλῆος), he creates a sort of combination between 1) the traditional periphrasis, 2) an isolated adaptation of it in *Il.* 18.117, βίη Ἡρακλῆος,[31] with the penthemimeral caesura after βίη and the genitive of the noun in the place of the adjective, and 3) the rare Ἡρακλῆα κρατερόφρονα of *Il.* 14.324 ~ Ἡρακλέα κρατερόφρονα of [Hes.] *Sc.* 458, of which Apollonius reverses the order of words, though he leaves the adjective in front of the bucolic diairesis as it was in Homer and in the *Scutum*. The archaizing periphrasis with βίη, adopted with this slight variation by Apollonius for the first mention of the hero, never recurs in the *Argonautica*, where we find only the non-periphrastic "Herakles"; however, this last name is very often placed at the end of verse (a dozen of times), to form, as in 1.122, a spondaic *clausula* which was completely foreign to the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and Hesiod, though a familiar phenomenon of Hellenistic poetry: cf. Callim. *Dian.* 108; Theoc. *Idd.* 17.27, 24.16 and 54, 25.110, 143 and 191; epic. adesp. *CA* 76 n. 3.8; 80 n. 6.10; 81 n. 8.7.

The dual υἷε δύω occurs three times in the *Argonautica*, always at the beginning of verse: 1.163, 4.81 and 4.1465. In the first of the three cases (and only there), υἷε δύω Ἀλεοῦ· τρίτατός γε μὲν ἔσπετ' ἰοῦσιν/ Ἀγκαῖος, the *iunctura* is inserted in a structure which may recall a Homeric model, namely *Il.* 12.95 υἷε δύω Πριάμοιο· τρίτος δ' ἦν Ἄσιος ἥρως, with υἷε δύω at the beginning of the line, the name of the father up to the caesura in the third foot, and then the addition of the name of a "third" son.

As to 1.241, cf. above both for the use of ὧδε and for the Homeric echo implicit in the use of the present participle of ἀίσσω in clausula as predicative of the object of ὁράω. In the rest of the poem this participle will be found very frequently, almost always in the end of the line, but no more joined with ὁράω or in other syntagmatic combinations which evoke Homeric models: cf. 1.387, 1264; 2.282, 427, 1033, 1088, 1250, 1258; 3.1379; 4.693, 1393.

1.248 πολλὰ μάλ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἄειρον is very closely modelled on *Il.* 7.130 πολλά κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀείραι, which is an isolated Homeric passage where χεῖρας + (ἀν)αείρω is used

[31] The same phrase was integrated by West in Hes. fr. 1.22.

instead of the more common χεῖρας ἀνέχω. Variations of the final Adonian for "to raise up the arms" will return elsewhere, once again for a prayer to the gods (4.228 χεῖρας ἀείρας) and once in the prayer of Hypsipyle to Jason (1.886 χεῖρας ἑλοῦσα), but also in a sense completely foreign to Homer, that of "to raise one's hands" in fighting, which is found in 1.1025 and in 2.14.[32]

1.263 f. πατὴρ ὀλοῷ ὑπὸ γήραι/ἐντυπὰς ἐν λεχέεσσι καλυψάμενος repeats the original context where the Homeric *hapax* ἐντυπάς appears, namely *Il.* 24.162 f. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι γεραιὸς/ἐντυπὰς ἐν χλαίνῃ κεκαλυμμένος: in Apollonius the subject is the old father of Jason, who cries for the son whose death he fears, in Homer the subject is Priamos who cries for the dead Hektor. Instead, in the only other occurrence in Apollonius of ἐντυπάς, 2.861 ἐντυπὰς εὐκήλως εἰλυμένοι, which is again a mourning scene, there is no reference to the original context, and the participle is different from the Homeric one, though synonymous to it.

The meanings of the Homeric ἀδινός were extensively studied by the Alexandrian scholars.[33] Sometimes Apollonius uses the word in the two meanings which were most often evoked by the Hellenistic scholars, namely ἐλεεινός/οἰκτρός and πυκνός. In all these Homerizing cases, in order to signal his faithfulness to the archaic model, Apollonius echoes Homeric contexts. The Homeric sense of ἀδινός = ἐλεεινός/οἰκτρός (mostly concerning the depth of pain) is predominant in 1.269 κλαίουσ' ἀδινώτερον, ἠύτε κούρη, κτλ., resumed by 1.276 ἀδινὸν κλαίεσκεν: 1.269 re-echoes a Homeric passage in which the comparative of ἀδινός appeared together with κλαίω, namely *Od.* 16.216, and the weeping was, as here, paternal weeping (Telemachos cries for his father together with Odysseus disguised as a beggar), and the expression introduced, as here, a simile: κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἤ τ' οἰωνοί, κτλ.; in an analogous way, 1.276, where Alkimede cries for her son, echoes *Il.* 24.510, κλαῖ' ἀδινά, where Priamos weeps for Hektor. The second of the Homeric meanings more often evoked by the Alexandrians, ἀδινός = πυκνός, is explained in an ostentatious way in 2.240 ἀδινὸν δ' ἕλε κῆδος ἕκαστον and in 4.1528 ἀδινῇ . . . ἄτῃ, where ἀδινός is "glossed" by the same Homeric passages which are evidently evoked by the two expressions of Apollonius: respectively, *Il.* 16.599 πυκινὸν

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[32] According to Merkel (1854) CXL, this last meaning would derive from Apollonius' interpretation of *Od.* 11.423 ποτὶ γαίῃ χεῖρας ἀείρων, the only other Homeric passage with χεῖρας + and a form of ἀείρω—in Homer the meaning "to raise the hands" in fighting was commonly expressed by χεῖρα(ς) ἐπιφέρειν: cf. Ardizzoni (1967) 235. However the derivation assumed by Merkel is clearly very remote, and the Apollonian passage hardly shows any evident echo of the suggested Homeric "model".

[33] After Merkel (1854) CLXX–XXII, cf. Livrea (1973) 14 f., with an exhaustive review of the ancient interpretations, and Rengakos (1994a) 35.

δ' ἄχος ἔλλαβ' Ἀχαιούς and *Il.* 24.480 ἄτη πυκινή. No Homeric model lies behind the many other passages where Apollonius seems to transform the word ἀδινός into an element of his personal linguistic code, giving to it senses and combinations unknown to Homer but, instead, common and typical of Apollonius—above all the combinations with nouns which mean "discourse" (2.478 ἀδινῷ . . . μύθῳ, 3.635 ἀδινήν . . . φωνήν, 3.1104 ἀδινῷ . . . μύθῳ, 4.29 ἀδινῇ . . . φωνῇ, 4.1422 ἀδινῇ ὀπί) and with words which mean "sleep" (1.1083 ἀδινὰ κνώσσοντας, 3.616 ἀδινός . . . ὕπνος, 3.748 ἀδινόν . . . κῶμα).

Δειλὴ ἐγώ at 1.279 is said about herself by Alkimede, who feels as if she were in mourning over her son's departure (anticipated by the *vox populi* in 1.251). In the *Iliad* the exclamation occured twice, in both cases for mothers who are in mourning (22.431: Hekabe) or foretell mourning as something bound to happen (18.54: Thetis). The expression is common in Apollonius, who uses it without specific reference to the original context, even for Medea: 3.262, 636, 771.

In 1.333 we find εὖ κατὰ κόσμον, a faithful repetition of Homeric usage, where κατὰ κόσμον occurs almost always (one tenth of times) preceded by εὖ or by οὐ (the only exception is *Od.* 8.489). In the rest of the *Argonautica* the full expressions, taken from Homer, do not recur, but, instead, the simplified form κατὰ κόσμον appears three times (1.839, 1.1210, 3.1041)—once however also the other Homerizing form οὐ κατὰ κόσμον occurs: 4.360.

In the first two occurrences of the verb ἐπιπνείω, 1.335 ἐπιπνεύσουσιν ἀῆται and 1.423 f. ἐπιπνεύσειε δ' ἀήτης/μείλιχος, the presence of the uncommon epicism ἀήτης recalls in all probability *Od.* 9.139 ἐπιπνεύσωσιν ἀῆται, which is also the only Homeric-Hesiodic passage where ἀῆται is used absolutely (= "wind", not "breath" of some wind, specified by ἀνέμοιο, Νότοιο or similar), as it is in the first two passages by Apollonius. In the following two cases in which the verb ἐπιπνείω appears, it does not seem to evoke a specific Homeric context (1.1359, 2.961), though behind the last example, 3.1327 /λάβρον ἐπιπνείοντε πυρὸς σέλας (said of the bulls against which Jason fights), we can most probably grasp the different echo of Hes. *Th.* 324 /δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος (said of the Chimaira).

1.310 f. ὦρτο δ' ἀυτὴ/κεκλομένων ἄμυδις is modelled upon various Homeric precedents: the formula ὦρτο δ' ἀυτή of *Il.* 12.377, 15.312 and 20.374; ὦρτο κυδοιμὸς/θυνόντων ἄμυδις of *Il.* 10.523f. (cf. also *Il.* 13.343 /ἐρχομένων ἄμυδις); the *Iliad* formula for exhorting to battle (ἐ)κέκλετο μακρὸν ἀύσας (nine times). The same models are also relevant in the syntagmatic combination of αὔω and κέκλομαι in the next occurrence, *Arg.* 1.383 κεκλόμενος δ' ἤυσε μάλα μέγα, where other models are also involved: *Il.* 4.508 κέκλετ' ἀύσας = 21.307, 15.321 ἄυσε μάλα μέγα and 11.10 ἤυσε θεὰ μέγα, in the same position (the exclamations/exhortations by the people who salute the Argonauts' departure, 1.310 f., or those of incitement by Tiphys, 1.383, look to some extent like an adaptation by Apollonius of the military cry of

exhortation, in a poem where battles of the Homeric type are very few). Homeric models continue to "motivate" another occurrence of κέκλομαι in the first book, 1.410 εὔχετο κεκλόμενος . . . Ἀπόλλωνα: cf. *Il.* 8.346 f. = 15.368 f. κεκλόμενοι . . . εὐχετόωντο. Later on in the *Arg.* the two verbs αὔω and κέκλομαι both recur, but always separated from one another, and with no reference to Homeric models.

The participle χρείων of the verb χράω is found in Homer only in *Od.* 8.79 ὣς γάρ οἱ χρείων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, which is repeated in a most precise way—both in terms of the subject and in the combination of χρείων with a *verbum dicendi*—in *Arg.* 1.360 f. Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅ μοι χρείων ὑπέδεκτο/σημανέειν (already in *h.Ap.* 396 this form of the participle had been taken up again in connection with Apollo). Neither this nor other epic-archaic phrases are felt behind the two successive occurrences of χρείων: *Arg.* 2.181 f. οὐδ' ὅσσον ὀπίζετο καὶ Διὸς αὐτοῦ/ χρείων ἀτρεκέως ἱερὸν νόον ἀνθρώποισιν, where the author anticipates what Phineus will say, and 2.313 f. (Phineus' speech) ἀασάμην καὶ πρόσθε Διὸς νόον ἀφραδίῃσι/χρείων ἑξείης τε καὶ ἐς τέλος.

In the first and the fourth occurrence in Apollonius of the adverb νειόθεν, 1.385 /νειόθεν ἐξ ἕδρης and 1.1313 /νειόθεν ἐκ λαγόνων, one grasps the rhythmic (first hemistich) and syntactical echo (specification of the place through an adverbial phrase introduced by ἐκ) of the only epic-archaic occurrence of νειόθεν, *Il.* 10.10 /νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης. The word will become one of Apollonius' favourites, but will be used absolutely and without contextual resonances in passages where it is no longer possible to find any echo of Homeric models: cf. 1.1288; 2.205; 3.383, 1303, 1358; 4.142.

The first time the verb ἐπιτρέπω appears in Apollonius is 1.400, ἐπὶ δ' ἔτρεπον αἰνήσαντες, which nicely confirms Lobel's supplement in Hes. fr. 43a39 ἐπ]έτρεψαν καὶ ἐπῄνεσαν. The verb occurs then several more times, but with no trace of any syntagmatic combination inherited from early epic.

Arg. 1.430 κρατεροὺς διέκερσε τένοντας, following αὐχένα κόψας in the end of 1.429, directly repeats *Il.* 10.455 f. ὁ δ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσε / . . . ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε ~ [Hes.] *Sc.* 418 f. αὐχένα . . . / ἤλασ' . . ., ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε), though it changes the original martial context to a sacrificial one and in place of ἀπο- uses the preverbial δια-, which is very rare in combination with κείρω "to cut"—in this second operation Apollonius possibly was in agreement with Zenodotus, who in *Il.* 13.546 f. preferred διὰ δὲ φλέβα πᾶσαν ἔκερσεν,/ ἥ τ' . . . αὐχέν' ἱκάνει, instead of ἀπὸ δὲ φλέβα, etc. No other Homeric allusion can be found in the numerous occurrences of κείρω or ἐκκείρω, where the verb always has the meaning, literal or metaphorical, "to reap", with the exception of 2.826 μέσσας δὲ σὺν ὀστέῳ ἶνας ἔκερσεν: here however the possible echo of the model is reduced by the use of ἶνας in place of τένοντας.

Arg. 1.432 σφάξαν τε . . . δεῖράν τε is a verbatim imitation of *Il.* 1.459 = 2.422 = *Od.* 12.359 καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν. In all successive

instances, though always connected with sacrificial contexts (3.1033; 4.1596), σφάζω does not appear in this para-Homeric combination, and δείρω never recurs. It is plausible to think that the sacrifice to Apollo in the first book of the *Iliad* was regarded as an intertext for the sacrifice to the same god at the beginning of the Argonautic expedition (cf. also *Arg.* 1.433 f. μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο . . . καλύψαντες πύκα δημῷ ~ *Il.* 1.460 μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον . . . κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν; *Arg.* 1.435 καῖον ἐπὶ σχίζῃσιν ~ *Il.* 1.462 καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς), even if this model from the first book of the *Iliad* is combined with another long sacrifice scene, the one to Athena in the *Odyssey* which precedes Telemachos' departure from Pylos for Sparta: note/χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας of v. 409 = *Od.* 3.445; αὐχένα κόψας/χαλκείῳ πελέκει κρατερούς/διέκερσε τένοντας of vv. 429 f. ~ *Od.* 3.449 f. πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας/αὐχενίους; καῖον ἐπὶ σχίζῃσιν of v. 435 ~ *Od.* 3.459 καῖε δ' ἐπί σχίζῃς.[34] For καλύψαντες πύκα δημῷ/of v. 434 cf. *Od.* 17.241 ff. καλύψας πίονι δημῷ/.

Arg. 1.471 τοῖόν μ' Ἀρήνηθεν ἀοσσητῆρα κομίζεις recalls a Homeric context where ἀοσσητήρ had appeared, namely *Il.* 15.254 f. τοῖόν τοι ἀοσσητῆρα Κρονίων/ἐξ Ἴδης προέηκε παρεστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν (where the object to which ἀοσσητῆρα refers as predicative is analogously the speaker, namely an implicit με). No other Homeric model lies behind any of the later occurrences of ἀοσσητήρ, namely 4.146, 407, 785.

It is plausible, in my view, that this alternating interplay between external (i.e. taken from Homer) and internal repetitiveness has a precise aesthetic importance in Apollonius. We must not undervalue the importance of aural transmission in the time of the *Argonautica*, but most probably Apollonius will have thought of an audience of readers much more than one of listeners. Of great importance therefore is the specific dynamics of reading, where memory of phrases already read plays a more important role than in aural reception: both the listener and the reader receive a literary work in a progressive way, and phrase after phrase create in their mind a memorizing synthesis; but written communication assists backward scanning, whereas oral communication does not.[35] When an element of the Homeric code enters the *Argonautica* for the first time, the recollection

[34] Cf. already Peschties (1912) 78–81.

[35] Cf. Goody (1977) Ch. 6. On the hostility of the Alexandrians towards the repetitions in Homer Calhoun (1933) 2 already noted that "it is significant . . . that this tendency first appears at a time when the practice of publicly reciting Homer is disappearing and manuscripts are becoming abundant; for it is fairly clear that the work of the Alexandrians was performed visually with written texts".

of a Homeric context often provides this phrase with the para-formulaic effect of the already-heard; then, however, its successive repetitions inside the work make it an element of Apollonius' own code, and its para-formulaic efficacy (secured by the earlier occurrences) is not affected by an external repetitiveness which evokes Homer's or Hesiod's texts once again. The result is that the memorizing synthesis of the reader could record Apollonius' text as "already heard but not overfamiliar"—a text which does not reject repetitiveness as the essential element which Homer's precedent had fixed for all epic, but one which even Cratinus would not have been able to parody.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS AS A HOMERIC SCHOLAR

Antonios Rengakos

The rise of Homeric scholarship as an academic discipline coincides with the heyday of Hellenistic poetry. As Pfeiffer in his epoch-making *History of Classical Scholarship* has abundantly shown,[1] this is no pure accident but an essential relationship; in other words, the beginnings of philology as a discipline and the new aesthetics informing the poetry of the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C. are bound intimately together, and the quality of ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ κριτικός is characteristic of all Hellenistic poets of this period with very few exceptions (e.g. Herondas).[2]

Many of these Hellenistic scholar-poets did not work on the Homeric epics as "professional" scholars; however, they can be said to have engaged in Homeric interpretation in so far as their poetry gives proof of great familiarity with the text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and allows in numerous places inferences about the way they understood the meaning of a disputed Homeric passage—to varying degrees, this is true of Lycophron and Callimachus,[3] of Aratus and Apollonius Rhodius, of Theocritus and Rhianus, to name but the most important among them. But it is Apollonius Rhodius who most deserves the title of ὁμηρικώτατος, and this in two respects:[4] compared with any other contemporary poem, his epic, the *Argonautica*, shows a far higher number of imitations of Homeric phrases, verses, motifs or scenes and reproduces lexical, morphological, syntactical and metrical peculiarities of the old epic to such an extent that it can be used

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[1] Occasional voices were raised, of course, against Pfeiffer's reconstruction of the origins and the earliest stage of scholarship, but they are mainly concerned with the influence of Aristotle and the Peripatos on the rise of academic philology, a problem which need not further occupy us here; see, for instance, the review by Wilson (1969) 366 ff. and (1997) 87 ff.; Rossi (1976) *passim* and (1995) 14 f.; Montanari (1993) 261 ff.; Richardson (1994) 8 ff. (see also Montanari, *ibid.*, p. 29 ff.). Pfeiffer's views have been defended, among others, by Fraser (1972), Ch. 8, and Pretagostini (1988) 290 f. and (1995) 34 f.

[2] Pfeiffer (1968), esp. 89 ff.

[3] Cf. Rengakos (1992b) and (1994b).

[4] Pfeiffer (1968) 147 ff.

as a veritable treasury for its poet's exegetical and critical engagement with Homer; moreover, Apollonius composed the first scholarly monograph of the Hellenistic period on Homer, a book titled Πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον and directed against Zenodotus' edition of the two Homeric epics.

The task of evaluating Apollonius' scholarly achievement is thus doubly important. First, the *Argonautica* needs to be interpreted against the background of its omnipresent Homeric model, in other words addressing the question of Apollonius' understanding of Homer, i.e. the question of his primary understanding of a 500-year-old epic, is the main prerequisite for any further discussion of Apollonius' reception of Homer.

However, apart from holding promise of insights into Apollonius' poetic technique, an inquiry into the scholarly aspects of the *Argonautica* opens up also the possibility of approaching two central issues of ancient Homeric scholarship. First, we can only shed some light on the pre-Aristarchean period of the ancient Homeric exegesis (about which we are rather scantily informed due to the loss of such specialized works as Philetas', Simias' or Zenodotus' collections of glosses) by indirectly tracing the Hellenistic poet-scholars' achievement through their literary work. Their performance in the field of Homeric semasiology will then serve as a foundation on which a proper evaluation of the works of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus can be conducted. Secondly, important information may be gathered from the *Argonautica* about the Homeric text of the early Hellenistic period; for instance, we can determine the influence of Zenodotus' critical edition of Homer on his contemporaries by comparing Zenodotus' readings with Apollonius' epic. The Hellenistic epic can also be laid under contribution for further variant readings transmitted under the name of other, mostly later, Homeric scholars or anonymously. Homeric variants which can be shown to lie behind certain passages of the *Argonautica* would then have to be seen as earlier or transmitted in manuscripts rather than as late conjectures. This means that with the aid of these variants we can solve one of the most disputed questions in the early history of the Homeric text in antiquity, namely the question of whether ancient critics constituted their text by taking account of the manuscripts or worked on it using subjective criteria and by means of conjectures. The *Argonautica*, like any single passage in a Hellenistic poem imitating a Homeric verse, is apt to make a substantial contribution towards confirming

the early evidence for a certain Homeric variant of Alexandrian origin. It is the aim of this contribution to answer the question (1) of Apollonius' achievement in the field of Homeric semasiology and (2) that of the Homeric text he used.[5]

1. *Apollonius Rhodius as Homer's interpreter*

Apollonius' achievement in the field of Homeric semasiology can be assessed on the basis of a thorough examination of the use of rare Homeric words in the *Argonautica*. The meaning thus established of Homeric glosses in Apollonius must then, at a second stage, be compared with other ancient explanations of the same words: first with the centuries-old pre-Apollonian interpretations of Homer by poets and then with the vulgate interpretations of Apollonius' time, which comprise both the explanations found in the so-called D *scholia*, in so far as they are not of learned origin, and the interpretations transmitted under the names of Philetas, Simias, Zenodotus, Neoptolemus of Parion or anonymously under the heading "glossographers". At a further stage, the question to be answered is to what extent the poet of the *Argonautica* had already used explanations which we happen to know from later Homeric scholarship (from Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus or from the so-called exegetical *scholia*).

Since doubts have been voiced of late about the method just described, an important point must be made here about the differences between Apollonius' Homeric exegesis and that of older poets.[6] As Manu Leumann saw half a century ago,[7] the "poetic attitude and aim" ("dichterische Einstellung und Zielsetzung") makes for a fundamental difference between the older poets and "the scholarly aspirations of the Alexandrians" ("von philologischem Ehrgeiz beseelte Alexandriner"). Thus, by contrast with the "more spontaneous, instinctive and by strictly scholarly standards still unfettered Homeric interpretation" of earlier times ("mehr unbewußte und gefühlsmäßige und jedenfalls rein philologisch noch sehr ungehemmte Homerinterpretation"), the Alexandrians' use of Homeric glosses attests a more self-conscious

[5] Cf. Rengakos (1994a) and (1993).
[6] See Hunter (1996b) 6 f.
[7] Leumann (1950) 28.

and refined technique.[8] The way in which Apollonius (or any other Hellenistic poet for that matter) employs Homeric lexical rarities is not just a poet's play with the "ambiguity of poetic language",[9] and it makes little sense to think that the strikingly high number of allusions to questions of Homeric morphology, semasiology or textual criticism is to be credited to Apollonius the poet rather than to Apollonius the scholar.[10] Such a cleavage between poetry and scholarship is hard to detect in any Hellenistic poet, least of all in Apollonius. The unwarranted disjunction is ultimately based on the ideas scholars entertain about Apollonius qua *poet.* Because the *Argonautica* as poetry was harshly judged until quite recently, critics have tended to stress the poetic qualities of the epic and have been noticeably reluctant to deal with the question of its scholarly aspects.[11] And just to counter the danger of underrating the epic's poetic merits, some scholars have sought refuge in the idea of an Apollonius functioning as pure poet in the *Argonautica* and toiling away as scholar in his lost academic workshop. Such an idea will hardly stand close examination.[12]

A detailed investigation into the meaning of Homeric words in Apollonius, such as I have undertaken elsewhere,[13] cannot be offered here for lack of space. I shall therefore limit myself to adducing some

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[8] Thus also Pfeiffer (1968) 3 f. on the older poets' self-interpretation: "On the other hand, one should not speak of 'Homer as a philologist'. When epic poets themselves add elucidating words, half-lines, lines to ambiguous expressions, or to proper names, this may be due to a desire to make themselves clear, but no less to pleasure in playing on words, to delight in similarity of sound. It is certainly a genuine part of their traditional poetical technique, not a combination of learning and poetry". Cf. also Dettori (1996) 290.

[9] Hunter (1996b) 6.

[10] Hunter *ibid.* 7.

[11] Fusillo (1993b) 140, Knight (1995) 16 f. and Hunter (1996b) 6 f., among others, are characteristically sceptical. Responsible for such, partly justifiable, scepticism about the endeavour to see an instance of *interpretatio Homerica* in just about every line of the *Argonautica* are, of course, the excesses of some scholars (Merkel's or Giangrande's). Pfeiffer's (1968) 140 view that the *Argonautica* would also reveal the *scholar* Apollonius is in principle correct.

[12] Much more sensible is Magnelli's (1999) 299 suggestion that one should not invariably look for a definitive scholarly pronouncement in all cases where Apollonius uses a Homeric word. I agree with Magnelli in seeing some of these instances as mere allusions to exegetical possibilities which hardly give us any clue to Apollonius' strictly personal position. Cf. also Glei's essay in this volume (above, 21): "... Apollonius' linguistic peculiarities, an area which more than any other reveals the identity, or at least the interaction, of the poet and the scholar in Apollonius".

[13] Rengakos (1994a) 28–150. Important supplements in Campbell (1994), Vian (^{2}1996) and Magnelli (1999).

notable instances of the use of Homeric glosses in the *Argonautica* and to drawing some conclusions from a comparison of Apollonius' practice with older poetic interpretation, the vulgate exegesis of Hellenistic times and later "professional" Homeric scholarship.

When Apollonius employs in his epic rare Homeric words which occur in earlier or contemporary poets, he will not, as a rule, stick to the meaning the words have in those texts. Besides the attested post-Homeric meanings, he will often also adopt meanings drawn from the interpretation of particular Homeric passages; equally frequent is the adoption of all semantic nuances accrued to a word through exegesis. It is also characteristic of Apollonius that he often shares Homeric glosses with his contemporaries, especially with Callimachus—a practice that confirms the, so to speak, common ground of learned Hellenistic poetry. Some examples: ἀγοράομαι "to speak before a gathering", or simply "to speak" is not rare (Thgn., Hdt., S.). In the *Argonautica* the verb is used in the sense "to discuss" (2.1226) or "to gather" (3.168),[14] derived from the interpretation of *Il.* 4.1 (οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορόωντο). "To encounter", "to participate" and "to stand against" for ἀντιάω are attested both in and after Homer, not, however, the sense "to beg", which is to be found only in Apollonius (1.703; 3.35, 643, 694, 717; 4.405, 703, 717, 1078, 1206) and is the result of *interpretatio Homerica.*[15] Ἠλίβατος meaning "high, steep, big" is common after Homer too, yet in several *Argonautica* passages Apollonius alludes to various etymologies of this word.[16]

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[14] Thus the D *scholia* on *Il.* 4.1: διελέγοντο. ἐκκλησιάζοντο. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγορεύειν, ἐξ οὗ ἠθροίζοντο. According to Porph. 1.67.27 Aristarchus preferred the latter meaning.

[15] As Livrea notes on 4.405, Apollonius probably took *Od.* 6.192 f. (~ *Od.* 14.510 f.) οὔτ' οὖν ἐσθῆτος δευήσεαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου/ὧν ἐπέοιχ' ἱκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα wrongly as "of the things that it befits the afflicted suppliant to beg" instead of "of the things that it befits the afflicted suppliant who comes across our way to get". Traces of this explanation of the Homeric ἀντιάω are preserved in Apoll. 34.15 as well.

[16] Ancient exegesis derives ἠλίβατος from ἥλιος + βαίνειν or ἥλιος + βάλλειν, from ἀλιτεῖν or finally from ἅλς. The first etymology is found in 3.162 f. (οὐρέων ἠλιβάτων, κορυφαὶ χθονός, ἧχί τ' ἀερθεὶς/ἠέλιος πρώτῃσιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεσσι, "two peaks of soaring mountains (hold up the sky), heights of the earth, where the risen sun blushes red with its first rays"), where the relative clause almost amounts to a poetic paraphrase of the explanation ἐφ' ᾗ ὁ ἥλιος πρῶτον βάλλει (Apoll. 83.25). In 2.361 ([ἔστι δέ τις ἄκρη . . ./] πάντοθεν ἠλίβατος, "there is a headland . . . sheer on all sides") too the adverb points to derivation from βαίνω. In 2.729 f. the derivation may even be from ἀλιτεῖν or ἅλς.

Like Apollonius (2.283; 4.1265), Callimachus reinterprets the Homeric ἤλιθα as ματαίως (*Lav. Pall.* 124);[17] in the *Argonautica* the word preserves its Homeric meaning πάνυ, ἀθρόως (3.342; 4.117) too. Ἴσκε = ἔλεγε, questioned, as is well known, by Aristarchus in *Od.* 19.203 and *Od.* 22.31, is used by Lycophron (*Alex.* 574) and Theocritus (*Id.* 22.167) as well as Apollonius (thirteen times).[18] "Shepherd" in *h.Merc.* 314 points to the derivation of οἰοπόλος from ὄϊες, while the interpretation "ὁ μόνος ἀναστρεφόμενος θεός" in Pi. *P.* 4.28 (of Triton) is to be linked with οἶος+πολεῖσθαι. In 4.1322 we get the latter meaning; in the wider context, however, the former meaning is also alluded to.[19] Apollonius and Callimachus derive Πλαγκταί (in the sense "Wandering Rocks", *Arg.* 4.786, 860, 924, 932, 939) from πλάζεσθαι (πλαγκτή from erring Delos, Call. *Del.* 273), not from πλήσσεσθαι (as Aristarchus erroneously does).[20]

Of special interest are the relations between Apollonius' Homeric interpretation and Hellenistic vulgate exegesis. Points of contact with glossographic works are few and far between: with Philetas' Ἄτακτοι Γλῶσσαι Apollonius shares only the word πρόξ which, like Philetas himself, he uses in the sense ἔλαφος (2.279). Simias' Γλῶσσαι or Neoptolemus' of Parion Περὶ γλωσσῶν Ὁμήρου have left no perceptible trace in Apollonius, while Zenodotus' Γλῶσσαι is represented just once: the Rhodian, as well as the Ephesian, takes ἐπίουρος as both "guardian" (3.1180; 4.652) and "leader" (1.87). There are more points of contact with the so-called glossographers whom we cannot date yet; it is worth noting though that none of their wildest interpretations, e.g. αἰών = νωτιαῖος μυελός (fr. 2 Dyck), ἱερός = μέγας (fr. 11), κέραμος = δεσμωτήριον (fr. 16), λευγαλέος = δίυγρος (fr. 18),

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[17] Also in Nic. *Al.* 25, 140. Aratus always sticks to the Homeric meaning πάνυ, ἀθρόως (254, 375, 611, 1011, 1064).

[18] In contrast to the "glossographic" explanation ἴσκε = ἔλεγε, Aristarchus, according to *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 16.41a, understood the verb in *Od.* 19.203 (ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, "he knew how to say many false things that were like true sayings") in the sense εἴσκω and obelized *Od.* 22.31 f. ἴσκεν ἕκαστος ἀνήρ, ἐπεὶ ἦ φάσαν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα/ἄνδρα κατακτεῖναι, "each spoke at random, for they thought he had not intended to kill the man" because he rejected the meaning ἔλεγε which one would have to assume here.

[19] In 4.1322 the Libyan goddesses call themselves οἰοπόλοι . . . χθόνιαι θεαὶ αὐδήεσσαι explained in 4.1333 as ἐρημονόμοι. Their clothes (4.1348 στέρφεσιν αἰγείοις ἐζωσμέναι) argue them to be shepherdesses, which is an allusion to the first sense (see Livrea *ad loc.*).

[20] *Sch.* H *Od.* 12.61.

νεκρός = νέος (fr. 21), τοῖος = ἀγαθός (fr. 31) or τόσον = σῶμα (fr. 32), are to be traced in Apollonius' epic. Some glossographic explanations, apparently familiar to Apollonius, are present in other Hellenistic poets too: ἴσκε = ἔλεγε instead of εἴκαζε (thirteen times in the *Argonautica*) is in tune with glossographic teaching, yet, as already noted, this meaning seems to have been current among Apollonius' contemporaries (Theocritus, Lycophron). Στρεύγεσθαι in the sense "to be gradually worn down" (4.384, 621, 1058) conforms with the glossographic explanation κατὰ στράγγα (i.e. κατ' ὀλίγον) φθείρεσθαι (fr. 30).[21] Both Call. *Cer.* 67 and Tim. *PMG* 791.82 use the verb in the same sense. Ἀτέμβεσθαι meaning μέμφεσθαι instead of the usual στερεῖσθαι wherever it occurs in the *Argonautica* (2.56, 1199; 3.99, 938) is a particularly noteworthy agreement between Apollonius and the glossographers (fr. 5) since this sense of ἀτέμβεσθαι is attested nowhere else. Apollonius will also have known the glossographers' explanations for ὁμοῖος (= κακός in 4.62), ὄνειαρ (= βρῶμα in 2.185), ποιπνύω (= διακονῶ in 4.1399) and πρόμος ("leader" in 1.713, 1047 and 2.752). It is generally to be assumed that part at least of the glossographic interpretations were known to Apollonius; his attitude, however, seems to have been a cautious one since, except in the case of ἀτέμβεσθαι, he does not limit himself to the glossographic explanation.

We come now to the so-called D *scholia*. Their core material is probably quite old (some of it already belonging to the classical period), yet the D *scholia* transmitted in the manuscripts is a Byzantine compilation shot through with learned (i.e. mainly Alexandrian and exegetical) material so that certain dating of the single interpretations is not possible (the lack of a modern critical edition does not help either). In any case, the numerous coincidences between explanations to be found in this corpus and the meaning of a number of words used by Apollonius in the *Argonautica* suggest that the latter must have consulted a collection similar to the D *scholia*. Strong likelihood hardens into certainty in those cases where *all* D interpretations for a particular word appear in his epic.[22] Here are some

[21] Cf. Tosi (1997) 225 ff.

[22] The long list of coincidences between Apollonius and the D *scholia* (Rengakos [1994a] 164 ff.) can be supplemented from Campbell (1994) as follows: ἀκέουσα (on 3.85), ἀμύμων (3.190), γυῖα (3.63), ἐκπάγλως (3.60), ἐξαῦτις (3.31), ἐφομαρτεῖν (3.111), ἦδος (3.311), ἠπεδανός (3.82), ἦρι (3.41), θέσκελος (3.229), θεσπέσιος (3.392),

examples: The "lexicographical" context of ἀμφιλύκη (a *hapax legomenon*) in 2.669–71 (ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ πω φάος ἄμβροτον οὔτ' ἔτι λίην/ὀρφναίη πέλεται, λεπτὸν δ' ἐπιδέδρομε νυκτὶ/φέγγος, ὅ τ' ἀμφιλύκην μιν ἀνεγρόμενοι καλέουσι, "at the time when the immortal sunlight has not yet appeared, but it is no longer quite dark and a faint gleam has pierced the night—the time which those walking call *amphilyke*") is strikingly similar to *sch.* D *Il.* 7.433.[23] Ἐπήτριμος in the sense "ἐπάλληλος, πυκνός" (*sch.* D *Il.* 18.211, 552, 19.226) is attested only in the *Argonautica* (four times: 1.30, 364; 4.937, 1455). The interpretations of the D *scholia* for ἐπιρρώεσθαι, i.e. κινεῖσθαι, (ἐπι)σείεσθαι (*sch.* D *Il.* 1.529, 23.367) and also ἐρρωμένως ἐνεργεῖν, κινεῖσθαι (*sch.* V *Od.* 20.107), reappear in Apollonius, the former meaning in 2.661, 4.504 and 1633, the latter in 2.677. Διαλέγομαι for ἑψιάομαι, attested only in Apollonius (2.811 ὡς τότε μὲν δαῖτ' ἀμφὶ πανήμεροι ἑψιόωντο), is also reported in *sch.* V *Od.* 17.530 along with the more familiar παίζειν. Ἰάπτειν in the sense διαφθείρειν, again attested only in the *Argonautica* (2.875 οὔ τις ἰάψει/ναυτιλίην), is also to be found in *sch.* D *Il.* 6.487. The following are instances of complete agreement: αὔτως as ὁμοίως and ματαίως (the second, and rarer, meaning occurs in 2.880 and 3.123—both interpretations are given in several D *scholia*), ἐπαυρέω as ἐπιτυγχάνω (1.82, 2.174) and ἀπολαύω (1.677, 1275, 4.964; both in *sch.* D *Il.* 6.353), λιαρός as θερμός (3.300, 1064) and ἡδύς (3.876; 4.572; both in *sch.* D *Il.* 14.164) etc.

Of course, there are cases where the poet of the *Argonautica* does not seem aware of any D interpretation; but this need mean no more than that Apollonius consulted any D *scholia* that came to his notice with the critical spirit he displayed in the case of the anonymous glossographers.[24]

A comparison between Apollonian interpretations of Homeric glosses and those of later Homeric scholarship leads to the following conclusions. There are similarities with Aristophanes of Byzantium,

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θυμός (3.20 f.), κάγκανος (3.272), καγχαλόω (3.124), καταστεφής (3.220), κατηφιόων (3.123), κερκίς (3.46), κερτομέω (3.56), (τέλος) κρηῆναι (3.172), λιπαρός (3.445), ὀλοφύρομαι (3.72), παραιφάμενος (3.14), and συνορίνομαι (3.56). However, most of these Homeric words do not belong to those whose meaning was strongly disputed; hence their demonstrative value is clearly diminished.

[23] Translations from the *Argonautica* are by R. Hunter, from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by R. Lattimore.

[24] Cf. Rengakos (1994a) 166 f. Other cases of divergence between Apollonius and the D interpretations from Campbell (1994): θρωσμός (on 3.199), παλιμπετές (3.285), σμύχω (3.446).

mainly with regard to words denoting family relationships: thus ἑκυρή (4.815; cf. ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μήτηρ τῇ νύμφῃ, fr. 267 Slater), μήτρως (1.46 and 199; μητράδελφος, fr. 229 B Sl.) and νυός (4.815; ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυνή, fr. 272 Sl.), and also the new formation πηοσύνη (1.48; cf. πηός in fr. 273 B Sl.).[25] Instances of convergence with Aristarchus are more numerous, but then differences between the two scholars are even more so. First, some typical instances of convergence: the distinction between ψάμαθος "sea sand" (4.607, 1505) and ἄμαθος "dust" (4.1239, 1464; the first occurrence of the latter word after Homer is in the *Argonautica*);[26] the restriction of δαίς to human food wherever it occurs in the *Argonautica* (1.354, 458, 979, 1150, 1185; 2.193, 263, 495, 811, 1177; 4.807; δαίτην too has the same meaning in 2.761) in contrast to tragedy and Zenodotus where it also refers to animal food.[27] Ἔναυλος in Apollonius and Aristarchus[28] means "river" (1.1226) and not "grotto" or "haunt", as often in post-Homeric interpretations (connected with αὐλή: Hes. *Th.* 129, *h.Ven.* 74, 124, E. *Ba.* 122, *H. F.* 371, E. fr. 740.4). Both Apollonius and Aristarchus take ἕδνα as "wooer's gifts" (1.977; 2.239),[29] not gifts in general as in Call. fr. 254.1 *SH* or [Theoc.] *Id.* 25.114. Apollonius[30] even shares Aristachus' error νηλειτεῖς = "πολυαμάρτητοι"[31] instead of the correct "ἀναμάρτητοι"; and both have πρόχνυ (*Arg.* 1.1118; 2.249) in the sense "παντελῶς" (a similar meaning also in Antim. fr. 5 Wyss = Matthews),[32] against the glossographers' more correct "down on one's knees" (fr. 29 D.).

And here are some instances of difference. Two significant views of Aristarchus' are not shared by the poet of the *Argonautica*. With regard to the words ἀήρ, αἰθήρ, οὐρανός and Ὄλυμπος Apollonius

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[25] Apollonius' usage stands in marked contrast to that of the *neoteroi* (μήτρως as "parents of the mother" or "relatives on the mother's side" several times in Pindar; νυός as "bride" in Theoc. *Id.* 18.15; πηός as φίλος in Theoc. *Id.* 16.25).

[26] See *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 9.385 a[1].

[27] For Zenodotus cf. Athen. *epit.* I 12 F. "Animal food" is common in tragedy (e.g. in A. *Ag.* 732; S. *Ph.* 957; E. *Hec.* 1020; *Ion* 446), Theocritus (*Id.* 13.63) and later epic (Q.S. 5.209; frequent in Opp. *Hal.*).

[28] See *sch.* P. Oxy. 221 (col. XIV 16, p. 106 Erbse) on *Il.* 21.283.

[29] See *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 16.178 c.

[30] 4.702 f. ῥέζε θυηπολίην οἵη τ' ἀπολυμαίνονται/νηλητεῖς [Hölzlin: νηλῃεῖς LAD, νηλειεῖς wE] ἱκέται, ὅτ' ἐφέστιοι ἀντιόωσι, "she performed the sacrifice by which suppliants who have committed outrage are cleansed when they make their request at the hearth".

[31] According to *sch.* B *Od.* 19.498.

[32] On *Il.* 9.570 an Aristonicus *scholion* giving this meaning must have been lost; see van der Valk (1963) vol. I, 277 f.

follows the common post-Homeric usage rather than Aristarchus' misconceived distinctions.[33] Apollonius is stranger to Aristarchus' distinction[34] between words for "fighting from afar" and "fighting at close quarters" (βάλλω, βέλος, βολή, νύσσω, οὐτάω, -άζω, πλήττω, τύπτω, ὠτειλή) or that between the physical and psychological denotations of the perfect forms βέβλημαι and βεβόλημαι respectively ("*de corpore*" or "*de animo laeso*"). Three further examples may be adduced here of words which after Homer are attested only in the *Argonautica*: Apollonius takes ἄβρομος as "soundless" (4.153 κῦμα . . . κωφόν τε καὶ ἄβρομον), Aristarchus correctly as πολύβρομος.[35] Aristarchus construed ἄνεῳ as adverb,[36] Apollonius as adjective (3.503, 967, 4.693, invariably as part of the phrase ἄνεῳ καὶ ἄναυδοι). Apollonius understands ἅψεα as "limbs" (2.199 τρέμε δ' ἅψεα νισομένοιο [sc. of Phineus]/ ἀδρανίῃ γήρᾳ τε, "his limbs shook with the feebleness of old age" or 3.676, where Chalkiope asks about the cause of Medea's tears: ἦ νύ σε θευμορίη περιδέδρομεν ἅψεα νοῦσος, "has a god-sent sickness seized hold of your limbs"), Aristarchus more correctly as "joints".[37] Aristarchus wrongly restricts the meaning of μολπή and μέλπειν, -εσθαι to "παιδιά/παίζειν",[38] in Apollonius the words bear the Homeric meaning "sing/song" too (e.g. in 1.569; 2.163; 4.894 etc.; thus also Callimachus). Unlike Aristarchus,[39] Apollonius identifies σόλος with δίσκος (3.1366; 4.657, 851), and in the case of στεῦται he does justice, in a way Aristarchus does not, to the word's rich Homeric nuances by taking it not only as "κατὰ διάνοιαν ὁρίζεσθαι",[40] but also as "εὔχεσθαι", "λέγειν" or "ἀπειλεῖν" (2.1204; 3.337, 579).[41]

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[33] In Aristarchus' view as reported by *sch.* D *Il.* 16.365, ἀήρ is the lower layer of air which reaches up to the clouds; αἰθήρ is the clear layer of air (i.e. also = οὐρανός) lying higher up and separated from ἀήρ by the clouds. Οὐρανός means either "firmament" (ὁ στερέμνιος, *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 2.458 and *Il.* 14.288) or is synonymous with αἰθήρ. Ὄλυμπος is not the sky but the mountain.

[34] Cf. Lehrs (1865) 51 ff.

[35] See *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 13.41 a.

[36] According to A.D. *Adv.* 145.6.

[37] Cf. *sch.* PQ *Od.* 4.794 (= Ariston. 53 Carnuth) where ἅψεα is explained as τὰς συναφὰς τῶν μελῶν, οὐ τὰ μέλη· οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι μηρὸν ἢ χεῖρα ἅψεα.

[38] *Sch.* Ariston. *Od.* 4.19 and *Od.* 6.101, cf. Lehrs (1865) 138 ff.

[39] Aristarchus claims there is a difference in shape, see *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 23.826 b.

[40] Aristarchus' explanation: *sch. Il.* 2.597, *Il.* 3.83 a[1], *Il.* 5.832, *Il.* 9.241 a (στάσιν γὰρ ψυχῆς σημαίνει ἡ λέξις), *Il.* 18.191 b, *Il.* 21.455 a (all Ariston.). The D *scholia* preserve other explanations besides Aristarchus': on *Il.* 2.597 ἔλεγεν, on *Il.* 3.83 ὑπισχνεῖται λόγον, on *Il.* 21.455 ὑπισχνεῖτο.

[41] For the relation between Apollonius and the so-called exegetical *scholia* see Rengakos (1994a) 170 f.

The scholarly aspect of the *Argonautica* is confirmed by two characteristic Apollonian techniques regarding the use of Homeric vocabulary. One of them is the reproduction of Homeric ἅπαξ or δὶς λεγόμενα in the sense that such words very often occur once or twice, respectively, in his epic too.[42] The other technique is the one I have termed "lexicographical"; it consists in Apollonius' practice of bringing out all possible meanings of a Homeric gloss in various passages of his epic. To give a few examples: In Apollonius ἀγοράομαι means both διαλέγεσθαι (2.1226) and ἀθροίζεσθαι (3.168), ἀδευκής both πικρός (1.1339; 2.388) and ἀπροσδόκητος (2.267, while 1.1037 and 4.1503 are deliberately ambiguous). Αὐτάγρετος means αὐθαίρετος (2.326, "self-chosen") as well as παραυτὰ ἀγρευόμενος (4.231). Ἐπίουρος means "guardian" (3.1180; 4.652: "protector") and "king" (1.87) (Zenodotus' interpretations), ἑψιάομαι "to play" (3.118, 950) and "to discuss" (2.811). Ἤλιθα means both πάνυ (3.342; 4.177) and ματαίως (2.283; 4.1265), θοός "ταχύς" (more often) and "ὀξύς" (2.79, 831, 1112; 3.1281, 1318, 1321; 4.1683), μολπή (or μέλπω, -ομαι) "παιδιά" (3.897, 949; 4.1728), "ᾠδὴ ὑπορχηματική" (1.28, 1151, 1225; 2.703, 714) and simply "ᾠδή" (1.569; 2.163; 4.894, 898, 1665); ὀρεχθέω means "to shout" by association with ῥοχθέω (2.49) whereas it means "to desire" by association with ὀρέγομαι (1.275); (μετα)παιφάσσω means "to look in all directions" (4.1443) as well as "to move vehemently" (3.1266).

It is no exaggeration to say that the "normal" exploitation of the Homeric vocabulary's semantic nuances by other poets pales by comparison with Apollonius' technique; and it is by virtue of such a technique that the *Argonautica* becomes a truly scholarly epic—a kind of poetic dictionary of Homer.[43]

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[42] Fantuzzi (1988) 26 f., 42 ff. has calculated that Apollonius uses 102 Homeric *hapax legomena* not attested before him. He uses 65 of them in the same verse position, i.e. he is keen to make the allusion heard through the metre as well. According to my count, the Homeric *hapax legomena* Apollonius uses twice are 88, the Homeric δὶς λεγόμενα appearing twice in his epic are 51, while the old epic δὶς λεγόμενα which Apollonius uses once are 157. For the poetic function of Homeric ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the *Argonautica* cf. Kyriakou (1995) and Keil (1998), esp. 175 ff.

[43] Rengakos (1994a) 176 ff. offers a list of Homeric words whose full spectrum of meanings Apollonius used in his epic. The definition of the *Argonautica* as a Homeric lexicon is approved by Rossi (1995) 18 ("surrogato di un lessico"); cf. Knight (1995) 39: "the *Argonautica* itself is a work of scholarship on Homer".

2. *Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric text of the Alexandrians*

As already noted, the poetic works of Hellenistic scholar-poets, especially the *Argonautica*, make up a remarkably rich collection of *memoria Homerica*, and on those grounds the study of those works as witnesses to that period's Homeric text is a worthwhile task. On the basis of a comparison between the Homeric text underlying the *Argonautica* and the variants we know from Homeric critics, anonymous or otherwise, we are in a better position to tackle one of the crucial problems of ancient Homeric scholarship, that is, the question of whether such Alexandrian variants are mere conjectures or genuine readings; and we might be better placed to make an overall assessment of the Hellenistic *poetae docti*. Thus, for instance, the discovery of a considerable number of older Homeric variants in Apollonius' epic would lead one to assume that the circle of poets interested in Homeric textual criticism included others beyond the well-known figures of Philetas, Aratus and Rhianus. By the same token, one might further assume that Apollonius had in his possession Homeric copies which could hardly have been the result of thorough editorial work but represented no κοινά or φαῦλα ἀντίγραφα either and were based on personal knowledge of the manuscripts. In the case of Apollonius, such personal knowledge is inherently likely in view of his monograph Πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον. I have tried to show elsewhere that this is true of Callimachus too.[44]

Some points on methodology are in place here. In view of the diverging conclusions reached by scholars e.g. with regard to Plato's Homeric quotations, the point needs hardly to be laboured that indirect testimonies of the Homeric tradition, especially those which are no quotations in the strict sense of the word, are of doubtful value. In the case of Hellenistic poets particular caution should be exercised for an additional reason: due to the Hellenistic technique of *variatio*, positive proof of the dependence of Hellenistic forms, expressions etc. on relevant Homeric passages is only possible in a very restricted number of instances.[45] To avoid misconceptions that may

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[44] Rengakos (1993) *passim*.

[45] A further obstacle to the search for old epic models is the well-known fact that the transmission of the *Argonautica* stands under the strong influence of Homeric epic. The scribes of the Hellenistic epic were all too often exposed to the danger of substituting the Homeric expression they were familiar with for the rarer Alexandrian

arise from this difficulty, I have suggested the following three criteria in my above-cited study:[46]

> (a) The passage of any given Hellenistic poet, which is supposed to give textual information about a particular Homeric verse, should display the qualities of a "quotation", i.e. narrative situation, context and expression should allude to the Homeric verse in question and only to it.
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> (b) Whenever there is no "quotation" in the sense just defined, the Hellenistic expression or word at issue must be shown to have been modelled on the single occurrence of a corresponding expression or word in the Iliadic or Odyssean verse to which it is assumed to be pointing; in other words, the turn of expression (or word for that matter) has to be an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, if possible in the same verse position. For instance, if a Homeric *hapax* x, variously appearing as either x^1 or x^2 in the tradition, occurs as x^1 in the *Argonautica*, it is a legitimate inference that Apollonius read x^1 in his Homeric text.
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> (c) The third criterion regards the transmission of the Hellenistic and Homeric passages involved. As regards passages in Hellenistic poetry, the more unanimous their tradition the more reliable they naturally tend to be. However, when a Homeric rarity surfaces in one part of the tradition of a Hellenistic poem . . ., while a more common form appears in another part, one should not prefer the more common over the unusual version. It is quite different where the tradition of the Homeric text is concerned: poorly attested "anonymous" Homeric variants should not be automatically compared with Apollonian and Callimachean passages as if their presence in a handful of medieval manuscripts or in late and isolated representatives of the Homeric text's indirect tradition guaranteed their being not only ancient but also early Hellenistic variants. In most cases the agreement should probably be put down to chance . . . and besides there is always the possibility that the variants in question may have found their way *from* Hellenistic poetry *into* the Homeric tradition itself.

Naturally this method has its limits:

> We are in a position to find out—and this only with some degree of certainty—how these poets decided between textual versions *that are known to us*; naturally, in the case of any given Homeric passage we are in no position to identify departures from our manuscript vulgate

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one (itself very often Homeric). Under these circumstances the peculiarly Hellenistic technique of *variatio* will have been badly affected. On this problem see Haslam's (1978) 55–61 important remarks.

[46] This and the following quotation are from Rengakos (1993) 33 f. My views on this concept of "quotation" applied to Hellenistic poetry have been approved by Nagy (1996b) 138 and (1997b) 179, also Keil (1998) 27 with n. 34.

which arguably remain peculiar to them, that is, variant readings appearing nowhere in our direct and indirect Homeric tradition, since in principle we always have to reckon with the possibility that we are dealing with variations of a Homeric *hapax*.

We are in a similar situation with regard to one of the most important aspects of ancient Homeric scholarship, namely the athetesis. We can note the fact that Apollonius, for instance, is quoting a verse athetized by Zenodotus, Aristophanes or Aristarchus, and take this as suggesting that he did not object to it. In the case of the far fewer verses which Homeric scholars did not admit into their text but which have left traces in the Hellenistic epic, we can readily assume that they were known to Apollonius and that Homeric scholars dropped them consciously, not because they were not aware of them. On the other hand, we cannot ascertain what Apollonius himself thought non genuine, which Zenodotean atheteseis he approved of and which Aristarchean ones he had anticipated. At this point, the Hellenistic poems as witnesses to their authors' Homeric text peter completely out.

We may now turn our attention to Apollonius' textual work on Homer and examine the evidence of his fragmentary Πρός Ζηνόδοτον,[47] which I shall discuss briefly. There are five passages in all:

(1) According to *sch.* Did./Ariston. *ad loc.*, Apollonius (fr. 13 M.) read πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους κεφαλάς instead of ψυχάς in *Il.* 1.3. The same expression occurs in *Il.* 11.55 (πολλὰς ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδι προϊάψειν, "to hurl down a multitude of strong heads to the house of Hades") and also in Hes. fr. 204.118 M.-W. Apollonius' reading apparently relied on documentary evidence: he will have known two versions here, a complete one with *Il.* 1.4 and 5 and the reading ψυχάς in *Il.* 1.3, and a shorter version without the two verses (whose athetesis by Zenodotus Apollonius knew and, in all likelihood, approved) but with κεφαλάς in *Il.* 1.3, and opted for the second reading.[48]

(2) In *Il.* 2.436 (μηδ' ἔτι δηρὸν/ἀμβαλλώμεθα ἔργον, ὃ δὴ θεὸς ἐγγυαλίζει, "nor for a long time/set aside the action which the god puts into our hands now") Apollonius read (fr. 14 M.) ἐγγυαλίζει, and so did according to Didymus *ad loc.* Aristophanes and Aristarchus (it also appears in some of our manuscripts). The manuscript vulgate attests ἐγγυαλίξει, the D-*lemma* has ἐγγυαλίξῃ. Apollonius' reading is clearly supported by documentary evidence; it is highly unlikely that a mere conjecture of his should have been admitted into all the old editions.

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[47] See the fragments of this work in Michaelis (1875). For further fragments not treated by Michaelis see Rengakos (1993) 52 f.

[48] On this passage see, more recently, Schmidt (1997) 5 f.

(3) In *Il.* 4.410 (τῷ μή μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίῃ ἔνθεο τιμῇ, "therefore, never liken our fathers to us in honour") Apollonius accepted the anastrophe of ἐν and read, according to Didymus *ad loc.*, again along with "all editions" ὁμοίῃ ἐν θέο τιμῇ (fr. 15 M.). What we observed about *Il.* 2.436 is also true of this reading, which no doubt rests on documentary evidence.

(4) In *Il.* 11.95 ff. the vulgate offers the following text: τὸν δ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτα μετώπιον ὀξέϊ δουρὶ/νύξ', οὐδὲ στεφάνη δόρυ οἱ σχέθε χαλκοβάρεια,/ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῆς ἦλθε καὶ ὀστέου, ἐγκέφαλος δὲ/ἔνδον ἅπας πεπάλακτο· δάμασσε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα ("but he stabbed straight at his face as he came on in fury/with the sharp spear, nor did helm's bronze-heavy edge hold it,/but the spearhead passed through this and the bone, and the inward/brain was all spattered forth. So he beat him down in his fury"). According to Aristonicus *ad loc.*, Apollonius (fr. 16 M.) athetized 11.98 and read ἐγκεφαλόνδε (constructing it with ἦλθε, "reached the brain") in 11.97, which gives the following text: τὸν δ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτα μετώπιον ὀξέι δουρὶ/νύξ', οὐδὲ στεφάνη δόρυ οἱ σχέθε χαλκοβάρεια,/ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῆς ἦλθε καὶ ὀστέου ἐγκεφαλόνδε. The question whether Apollonius' version is merely conjectural or not is hard to answer. Proof that Apollonius' text was supported by documentary evidence has been seen in P. Lit. London 251 (2nd cent. B.C.),[49] which contains a passage akin to *Il.* 11.96 ff., i.e. *Il.* 12.183 ff. The text offered by our vulgate here is this: δουρὶ βάλεν Δάμασον κυνέης διὰ χαλκοπαρῄου·/οὐδ' ἄρα χαλκείη κόρυς ἔσχεθεν, ἀλλὰ διαπρὸ/αἰχμὴ χαλκείη ῥῆξ' ὀστέον, ἐγκέφαλος δὲ/ἔνδον ἅπας πεπάλακτο· δάμασσε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα ("he struck Damasos with the spear through the bronze-sided helmet,/and the brazen helmet could not hold, but the bronze spearhead/driven on through smashed the bone apart, and the inward/brain was all spattered forth. So he beat him down in his fury"). For the same passage the papyrus gives a much shortened version: [δουρὶ βάλεν Δάμασον κυνέης διὰ] χαλκοπαρῄου· (= *Il.* 12.183)/[. . .] πέρησεν. (= *Il.* 12.183 a). The papyrus thus agrees with Apollonius in leaving out *Il.* 12.186 (= *Il.* 11.98). It is then fairly obvious that there were several textual versions for *Il.* 11 and 12: the papyrus version with two verses (*Il.* 12.183–183a), Apollonius' text with three (*Il.* 11.95–7, i.e. *Il.* 12.183–185) and the

[49] Jachmann (1949) 191 ff. Reinhardt's (1961) 526 f. objections against the documentary character of Apollonius' text are hardly sound as they are simply based on the supposed superiority of the vulgate over the papyrus tradition.

version of the vulgate with four verses (*Il.* 11.95–98, cf. *Il.* 12.183–186); thus Apollonius' version may well have been backed by documentary evidence since both it and the papyrus omit *Il.* 11.98 = *Il.* 12.186. Indeed, a papyrus text particularly close to Apollonius may be assumed by reading something like [αἰχμὴ δ' ἐγκεφαλόνδε διὰ κροτάφων ἐ]πέρησεν in *Il.* 12.183 a.

(5) Finally, in *Il.* 13.657 (ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀνέσαντες ἄγον προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν, "they sitted him in the chariot and brought him to sacred Ilion") Apollonius (fr. 12 M.) read ἀναθέντες, "put him in the chariot". This is probably a conjecture since the notion of Harpalion's sitting corpse is hardly appropriate and Apollonius is alone in reading ἀναθέντες. Besides, as we know from *sch.* (ex.) *Il.* 13.657, the verse was athetized by some critics on the grounds that only the wounded and not the dead are removed by chariot. It is just possible that the athetesis was Zenodotus', in which case Apollonius' conjecture ἀναθέντες will have been an attempt to save a problematic verse.

The cautious conclusion, then, to be drawn from the above five fragments from Πρός Ζηνόδοτον is that Apollonius did not only make conjectures but also used various Homeric manuscripts.

(6) Another fragment from the same Apollonian work is of an exegetical rather than critical nature. On *Il.* 4.306 f. P. Ryl. 24[50] (first cent. A.D.) reports an explanation known also from *sch.* (Ariston.) *Il.* 4.307 a and quotes an Apollonius (probably the poet of the *Argonautica*, since both Apollonius Dyscolus and Apollonius Sophistes are to be ruled out for reasons of chronology), but it is not clear whether the interpretation is advocated or rejected.[51]

Coming next to the Homeric variant readings found in the *Argonautica*, we shall deal first with the question whether Apollonius made use of Zenodotus' edition. The question is not an idle one, for natural as the assumption is that the author of a specialized monograph on Zenodotus' edition of the Homeric text was bound to make use of the edition itself, there have been reputable scholars who have held until quite recently the view that the *Argonautica* (in contrast to Callimachus' poetry—a distinction not readily understandable) shows no knowledge of Zenodotus' edition but is rather

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[50] Erbse (1969) 440 ff. (= Pap. III).

[51] It is not clear whether the explanation in *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 11.4 of the Iliadic line *Il.* 5.593, ascribed to one Apollonius, can be traced to the poet of the *Argonautica*.

based on a κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. According to this view, Apollonius "will have kept clear of the Homeric scholarship set in motion by Zenodotus".[52]

A few characteristic examples should suffice here. In *Il.* 3.330 ff. (the arming scene of Paris) the vulgate's text (κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκε/καλάς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας·/δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στηθέεσσιν ἔδυνεν/οἷο κασιγνήτοιο Λυκάονος· ἥρμοσε δ' αὐτῷ./ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον/χάλκεον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε·/κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμῳ κυνέην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκεν/ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν·/εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ὅ οἱ παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει, "first he placed along his legs the fair greaves linked with silver fastenings to hold the grieves at the ankles. Afterwards he girt on about his chest the corselet of Lycaon his brother since this fitted him also. Across his shoulder he slung the sword with the nails of silver, a bronze sword, and above it the great shield, huge and heavy. Over his powerful head he set the well-fashioned helmet with the horse-hair crest, and the plumes nodded terribly above it. He took up a strong-shafted spear that fitted in his hand's grip") shows the set order of the arming in similar Homeric scenes (greaves, breastplate, sword, shield, helmet and lance or spear). Zenodotus athetized *Il.* 3.334 f. and read another verse instead of 334 (κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκε/καλάς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας·/δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στηθέεσσιν ἔδυνεν/οἷο κασιγνήτοιο Λυκάονος, ἥρμοσε δ' αὐτῷ./κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμῳ κυνέην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκεν/ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν·/ ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' ἀσπίδα τερσανόεσσαν/εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ὅ οἱ παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει, "first he placed along his legs the fair greaves linked with silver fastenings to hold the grieves at the ankles. Afterwards he girt on about his chest the corselet of Lycaon his brother since this fitted him also. Over his powerful head he set the well-fashioned helmet with the horse-hair crest, and the plumes nodded terribly above it. Across his shoulder he slung the fringed (?) shield. He took up a strong-shafted spear that fitted in his hand's grip"), thus arriving at the sequence: greaves, breastplate, helmet, shield and lance. Aietes' arming before Jason's *athlos* (3.1225 ff.) offers an obvious parallel to Zenodotus' sequence: breastplate, (no sword!),

[52] Erbse (1953) 166 f. Van der Valk (1963) vol. II, 64 n. 277, Fraser (1972) 452 and Pfeiffer (1968) 147 n. 1, agree with Erbse; so does, with some reservations, West (1988) 44.

helmet, shield and lance (καὶ τότ' ἄρ' Αἰήτης περὶ μὲν στήθεσσιν ἕεστο/θώρηκα στάδιον, τόν οἱ πόρεν ἐξεναρίξας/σφωιτέρης Φλεγραῖον Ἄρης ὑπὸ χερσί Μίμαντα·/χρυσείην δ' ἐπὶ κρατὶ κόρυν θέτο τετραφάληρον/λαμπομένην, οἷόν τε περίτροχον ἔπλετο φέγγος/Ἠελίου, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀνέρχεται Ὠκεανοῖο./ἂν δὲ πολύρρινον νώμα σάκος, ἂν δὲ καὶ ἔγχος/δεινόν, ἀμαιμάκετον, "around his chest Aietes had put on a stiff breastplate which Ares had given to him after killing Phlegraian Mimas with his own hands. On his head he placed a golden helmet, four-bolted; its gleam was like the encircling brilliance of Helios when he first rises from Ocean. Aloft he brandished his shield many hides thick; aloft too his terrible spear, irresistible"). It is, then, clear that in this case Apollonius followed Zenodotus' text.

Another, equally evident, example of Apollonius following Zenodotus is *Il.* 4.88 f. (Athena looks for Pandaros). Instead of the two vulgate verses (Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι./εὗρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε, "searching for godlike Pandaros, if she might somewhere come on him. She found the son of Lykaon, a man blameless and powerful.") Zenodotus read only one (Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη. εὗρε δὲ τόν γε), also preferred by some modern critics.[53] In the *Argonautica* (3.113 f.) too it is a goddess (Aphrodite) who looks for her son Eros in order to rouse through him Medea's passion for Jason (βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν Οὐλύμποιο κατὰ πτύχας, εἴ μιν ἐφεύροι. /εὗρε δὲ τόν γ' ἀπάνευθε, "she went down the mountainside of Olympos looking for her son. She found him in a remote spot"). Apollonius' text is a conflation of the vulgate and Zenodotus' text in *Il.* 4.88 f.: the formula εἴ μιν ἔφεύροι is kept but so is Zenodotus' εὗρε δὲ τόν γ' too.[54]

My final example is ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς ("be men now, dear friends, and remember your furious valour") in *Il.* 6.112. Zenodotus read ἀνέρες ἔστε θοοὶ καὶ ἀμύνετον ἄστεϊ λώβην ("be quick now and ward off dishonour from the city"). Λώβην ἀμύνειν, an expression not attested elsewhere, occurs also in 1.815 f. (οὐδ' ἀπὸ μητρὸς/λώβην ὡς τὸ πάροιθεν ἀεικέα παῖδες ἄμυνον, "children no longer as before protected their mothers from shameful insults"). So this Apollonian passage too is clearly influenced by the

[53] For the reasons of Zenodotus' choice see Nickau (1977) 102.

[54] Since Zenodotus' text appears also in *Il.* Pap. 41 (P. Lit. London 10, 280–240 B.C.) (Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον δι]ζημένη, ηὗρε δ[ὲ] τ[όν γε), it is very likely that Zenodotus' text was supported by documentary evidence. The papyrus can hardly be dependent on Zenodotus.

Zenodotean text, which preserves the original phrasing changed later to the more common formula.

The obvious conclusion is that in certain cases the *Argonautica* follows the Zenodotean text.[55] Proof for particular divergences between Zenodotus' Homeric text and that underlying the *Argonautica* is hard to obtain, of course; it is only reasonable though that the Apollonius who directed a monograph against Zenodotus should have fairly often been critical of the latter's text. Some examples: In *Il.* 3.211 the vulgate reads ἄμφω δ' ἑζομένω γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς, "but Odysseus was the more lordly when both were seated" to which Zenodotus objected because of the absolute nominative, reading therefore ἑζομένων. In *Arg.* 4.199 f., a clear quotation from the *Iliad*, Apollonius keeps this very construction (ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διὰ νηὸς ἀμοιβαδὶς ἀνέρος ἀνὴρ/ἑζόμενος πηδοῖσιν ἐρέσσετε, "therefore each second man through the length of the ship should stay on his bench and ply the oars"). According to the text of Zenodotus and part of the tradition, in *Il.* 7.31 f. Apollo says to Athena ἐπεὶ ὣς φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ/ὑμῖν ἀθανάτοισι, διαπραθέειν τόδε ἄστυ, "since it is dear to the heart of you, who are immortal, that this city shall be made desolate". Aristophanes of Byzantium read ὑμῖν ἀμφοτέρῃσι (i.e. Hera and Athena), Aristarchus and the other Homeric manuscripts ὑμῖν ἀθανάτῃσι. Now, in *Arg.* 3.104, yet another quotation from the *Iliad*, Apollonius rather than following Zenodotus' text repeats Aristophanes' reading. Here Aphrodite talks to Hera and Athena, that is, to the goddesses implied by Aristophanes' reading in the *Iliad* passage: νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ὔμμι φίλον τόδε δὴ πέλει ἀμφοτέρῃσι, "since you both desire it". Besides, the *Argonautica* passage proves that Aristophanes' text has a documentary basis. A final example regards the omission of a verse, *Il.* 10.252 f. The vulgate reads παροίχωκεν δὲ πλέων νὺξ/τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται, "and the full of the night has passed by, through two portions, and the third portion is that which is left us". Whereas Zenodotus omitted *Il.* 10.253, and Aristophanes and Aristarchus athetized it, 3.1340 f. shows that Apollonius read the verse (ἦμος δὲ τρίτατον λάχος ἤματος ἀνομένοιο/λείπεται ἐξ ἠοῦς, "at the time when only the third part of the day which began at dawn is left").[56]

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[55] Nagy (1996b) 138 and (1997a) 112 f. n. 35, Montanari (1995) 54, Schenkeveld (1995) 97 and Asper (1997) 219 n. 57, all approve.

[56] Thus Apollonius solved the πολυθρύλητον ζήτημα of the "Doloneia" passage,

So much for the traces left by Zenodotus' text in the *Argonautica*. The personal and independent character of Apollonius' Homeric "recension" and the variety of its manuscript basis are highlighted by a whole host of old Homeric variants which found their way into his epic. Some examples of Homeric variants, anonymous or otherwise, will be adduced in what follows.

With the Homeric text of Aristophanes of Byzantium the *Argonautica* has several points of contact. We have already looked at two of them (above 211); another one is the much-discussed "end" of the *Odyssey*. According to the ancient *scholia*, Aristophanes and Aristarchus place it at *Od.* 23.296 (πέρας in *sch.* MV, Vind. 133, τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσείας in *sch.* HMQ). For more than a century the view has rightly been held that the last verse of the *Argonautica* (4.1781 ἀσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηΐδας εἰσαπέβητε, "gladly you stepped out on to the shores of Pagasai") imitates *Od.* 23.296 (ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἵκοντο, "they then gladly went together to bed, and their old ritual"), and this has been taken as a clear hint at the problem surrounding this line—a problem which on this evidence seems to go back to the period before Aristophanes.[57]

Variants transmitted under the name of Aristarchus are also attested in the *Argonautica*. The first instance is 2.649 (εἰρεσίῃ δ' ἀλίαστον ἔχον πόνον, "they turned to the unremitting labour of rowing"), where the phrase ἀλίαστον πόνον anticipates Aristarchus' reading in *Il.* 2.420 (the situation referred to in the Homeric passage is strongly similar to that in Apollonius' epic as both come after a *peira*): πόνον δ' ἀλίαστον ὄφελλεν, "they piled up the unremitting hardship" (ἀμέγαρτον vulg., "unenviable"). In *Od.* 4.567 the vulgate and nearly the whole of the indirect tradition read ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας/Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους, "but always the stream

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namely whether πλέων νὺξ/τῶν δύο μοιράων means "more than two thirds" or "the best part of the night, i.e. two thirds of it"), by opting for the latter meaning. An important divergence between Zenodotus' Homeric text and that underlying the *Argonautica* is noted by Campbell (1994) on 3.33.

[57] I regard the allusion of 4.1781 to *Od.* 23.296 as certain, especially as the last verse in one of the books of Rhianus' *Messeniaca* alludes to the same Odyssean verse, as we know from fr. 947 *SH*: ἀσπασίη δὲ Λάκωσιν ἐπήλυθε νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη. On the problem of *Od.* 23.296 cf. Rossi (1968) 151–63; Erbse, (1972) 166–244 (with relevant literature); Kullmann (1992) 293 f.

of the Ocean sends up breezes of the West Wind blowing briskly for the refreshment of mortals"; by contrast Aristarchus read Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας. In 4.837 Apollonius imitates the *Odyssey* passage and presupposes Aristarchus' reading νῆα σαωσέμεναι, Ζεφύρου λίγα κινυμένοιο, "to save the ship, provided that the Zephyr blows gently".[58]

Let us now pass on to the anonymous variants. 3.881 f. (the famous Artemis-Medea simile) has clear affinities with a pre-Alexandrian variant due to Megacleides, Homer's fourth-century B.C. Peripatetic interpreter: τῇ θ' ἅμα Νύμφαι ἕπονται ἀμορβάδες, αἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς/ ἀγρόμεναι πηγῆς 'Αμνισίδος, "and with her go her companion nymphs, some gathering from the very spring of Amnisos". Apollonius draws on a well-known *Odyssey* passage (*Od.* 6.102 ff., the Artemis-Nausikaa simile), where *Od.* 6.105 f. reads as follows: τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα Νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,/ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ, "and along with her the nymphs, daughters of Zeus of the aegis, range in the wilds and play, and the heart of Leto is gladdened". Megacleides read v. 106 as ἀγρόμεναι παίζουσιν ἀνὰ δρία παιπαλόεντα, "they gather and play in the rugged thickets". The *Argonautica* passage displays a "conjunctive error" common to Apollonius' Homeric readings and the older tradition, thus offering proof that for his Homeric text Apollonius took account of the older manuscripts.[59]

Equally interesting is a passage from the Iliadic catalogue of the Trojans (*Il.* 2.855), where the cities of the Paphlagonian coast are listed; among them are Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς 'Ερυθίνους (vulg.). From Strabo (12.3.10, 545 C) we know the variant Κωβίαλόν (instead of τ' Αἰγιαλόν). This variant is attested in 2.942 (the Argonauts sail along the same Paphlagonian coast): Κρωβίαλον Κρῶμνάν τε καὶ ὑλήεντα Κύτωρον. According to Strabo (7.3.6, 298 C and 12.3.26, 553 C), Apollodorus thought (*FGrHist* 244 F 157) that Homer "did not know" the cities of the Paphlagonian coast. This can only mean one of two things: either *Il.* 2.853–5 with Κύτωρος, Σήσαμος, Κρῶμνα,

[58] Call. *Ap.* 81 f. ἄνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν εἴαρι τόσσα περ Ὧραι/ποικίλ' ἀγινεῦσι ζεφύρου πνείοντος ἐέρσην offers the same variant reading too. For the question of the grammatical gender of ἀήτη(ς), which must have been disputed among Hellenistic poets, see Rengakos (1993) 100.

[59] In his Diana simile (*Aen.* 1.498 ff.) Virgil keeps to the Hellenistic poet's reading, as is shown by 1.500: *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades.*

Αἰγιαλός (or K[ρ]ωβίαλος), Ἐρύθινοι and the river Παρθένιος were unknown to Apollodorus (and his source Eratosthenes) or they were rejected by them. Indeed, some scholars have assumed that these verses were interpolated into the Homeric text only in the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C.[60] This, however, is demonstrably wrong since according to *Et.Gen.* Antimachus had already read (fr. 61 W. = 183 M.) the verse quoted by Apollonius.[61] The fact that the *Argonautica* passage 2.930–45 lists all places named in *Il.* 2.851–5 (the river Parthenios, Sesamos, Erythinoi, Krobialos, Kromna, Kytoros, and even Aigialos, the city eliminated in the Strabo quotation), proves beyond doubt that Apollonius knew both versions of *Il.* 2.855.

1.269 (ὡς ἔχετο κλαίουσ' ἀδινώτερον ἠύτε κούρη, "so she clung to him weeping more bitter than a young girl") is interesting in two respects: regarding ἠύτε, the sense "than" instead of the more common "as" derives from *Il.* 4.277 (μελάντερον ἠύτε πίσσα, "blacker than pitch"), where Aristarchus (followed by most modern scholars) understands ἠύτε to mean "as"—not the most natural explanation. The same *Argonautica* passage proves also that Apollonius knew the *varia lectio* (e.g. in Monacensis 519 B) ἠύτ' οἰωνοί of *Od.* 16.216 (κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἤ τ' οἰωνοί, vulg., "and they cried shrill in a pulsing voice, even more than the outcry of birds").

We conclude our series of examples with a particularly interesting passage. In *Il.* 6.4 the vulgate and Aristarchus (on second thoughts)[62] read: μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων, "in the space between the waters of Xanthos and Simoeis". The ἀρχαῖα ἀντίγραφα (and initially Aristarchus) read μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης, "in the space between the river Skamandros and the lagoon" instead, while Aristarchus' pupil Chaeris preferred μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ Σιμόεντος, "in the space between the river Skamandros and Simoeis". Pap. *Il.* 410 (= P. Hibeh 193, ca. 270–30 B.C.) (likewise Pap. *Il.* 270 = P. Tebt. 899, second half of the 2nd cent. B.C.) read *Il.* 6.4 in the version of the ἀρχαῖα. The remarkable expres-

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[60] Allen (1921) 156 ff., who talks of interpolation from the Trojan catalogue of the *Cypria* (followed in the matter of date by Page [1959] 147 and 340 n. 36 and by Kirk *ad loc.*).

[61] The fragment does not allow to decide whether Antimachus knew the verse in the vulgate reading (τ' Αἰγιαλόν) or with the *varia lectio* (Κωβίαλον). Matthews *ad loc.* rejects with good reason Wyss's assumption that Apollonius owed his knowlegde of the verse in question to his reading of Antimachus rather than of Homer.

[62] According to *sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 6.4a.

sion στόμα λίμνης is also attested in 4.1571 f. (δεῖξε δ' ἄπωθεν/φωνήσας πόντον τε καὶ ἀγχιβαθὲς στόμα λίμνης, "he showed them the open sea and the deep mouth of the lake far off in the distance"), while στομάλιμνον is attested in Theoc. *Id.* 4.23. In view of this fortunate concentration of sources it is rather strange that στομαλίμνης should have been branded a "Hellenistic" conjecture.[63] Such convergence of three contemporary witnesses (the P. Hibeh, Apollonius and Theocritus) suggests, as I have remarked, that:

> The hypothesis that a conspicuous *varia lectio* here and there in the Homeric text originated from Hellenistic poetic passages is unfounded, for, in a case like that, who is supposed to depend on whom? Is it possible that it was Theocritus who first used the expression which later, in an unknown order, Apollonius introduced in the *Argonautica* while an anonymous Homeric scholar took it up so influentially that στομαλίμνης found its way into the ἀρχαῖα ἀντίγραφα as well as into the papyrus—and all this in the case of a Homeric passage which in its vulgate version gave no cause for alteration? Further proof of the variant's genuineness in the Homeric text is offered by the fact that the place name Στομαλίμνη is attested in the island of Cos (see Str. 14.2.19, C 657). It is hardly conceivable that the place name and the *varia lectio* in *Il.* 6.4 originated from Hellenistic verse; Στομαλίμνη can only have arisen in *Il.* 6.4.[64]

3. *Conclusion*

To sum up. It should be clear from the above that in view of the rich harvest of scholarship yielded by the *Argonautica* its poet's place as one of the foremost Homeric critics of the Alexandrian period is secure. It should be equally clear that Apollonius worked vigorously both on the Homeric text's constitution and on problems of Homeric vocabulary. As well as setting out the results of his research in a special monograph, he also took up, in a typically Hellenistic spirit, the literary form of epic as an experimental means of communicating his Homeric exegesis. The scholarly aspect, which is the principal feature of his learning, is as important to him as, e.g., aetiology is crucial to Callimachus, his colleague in the Alexandrian Museum. Positive pronouncements by modern scholars on his poetic skills and

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[63] Van der Valk (1963) vol. II, 88; West (1967) 73; Kirk *ad loc.*
[64] Rengakos (1993) 155.

technique confirm that the fusion of poetry and scholarship in his epic did come off, and, therefore, any cavalier treatment of his poetry in comparison with Callimachus' graceful learning tends to be too subjective and rather unfair. Scholarship of the Apollonian kind is on a par with Callimachean aetiology, both being manifestations of the period's new poetics.[65] And it is in this sense too that the *Argonautica* can be regarded as a truly "Callimachean" work.

[65] In an important contribution Rossi (1995) wishes to show that, from the viewpoint of the integration of learned material in his literary work, Apollonius (the "filologo") ranks last, with Callimachus (the "letterato") taking precedence over Apollonius, and pride of place reserved for Theocritus (the "letterato elegante"). Rossi, however, is fully conscious of the subjective nature of his judgement.

APOLLONIUS AS A HELLENISTIC GEOGRAPHER*

Doris Meyer

The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius is the best known travel epic of the ancient world. According to Apollonius, Jason and the heroes accompanying him set sail from Pagasai, the port of Thessalian Iolkos, and reached Colchis following a route that took them past Lemnos and Samothrake, through the Hellespont and the Bosporos and along the southern coast of the Black Sea.[1] Important geographical landmarks include ports, capes and islands as well as occasional tombs on the coast.[2] On the banks of Phasis Jason wins Medea and the Golden Fleece. Fleeing the Colchians, the Argonauts cross the Pontos and sail, by way of the river Istros, to the Adriatic Sea where they sail along the islands lying off the coast. Having already caught sight of the mountain range of Akrokeraunia, they are thrown back by a storm because it is the will of Zeus that the murderers of Apsyrtos be purified by Kirke whose home was in the sea of Ausonia.[3] The Argonauts reach the western Mediterranean by making their way through the river Eridanos, the Celtic lakes and the Rhodanos, venturing as far as the Stoichades islands. After another stop at the

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[1] See the maps in Delage (1930) 191; Vian (1976); Vian (1981); Hunter (1993b) maps 1–3; Dräger (1996) 1065 f. (following Vian); Glei-Natzel-Glei (1996); Green (1997a), maps 1–5. The maps of Vian, Dräger and Green (map 5 with the return route) not only mark the ports of call but also try to reconstruct Apollonius' "mental map" as completely as possible; see, though, Janni (1984) 49–51 for problems with such reconstructions.

[2] E.g. the tombs of Dolops (1.585–588), Sthenelos (2.911–914), Harmonia and Kadmos (4.517) and Polyphemos (4.1476 f.). Heroic tombs on the coast serve as navigational landmarks already for Homeric sailors; see *Il.* 7.86–8.

[3] This is the southern Tyrrhenian Sea. Auson is a son of Odysseus and Kalypso; on this anachronism in the geographical terminology (Auson lived after the Argonauts) see Delage (1930) 338. For the modern counterparts of identifiable place names see the index in Vian (1981) 211–66 and the glossary in Green (1997a) 378–445.

island of Aithalia they sail along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea and reach many important Odyssean locations: Aiaie, the home of Aietes' sister Kirke, the island of the Sirens, called Anthemoussa, the dangerous Planktai, Skylla and Charybdis and finally Thrinakia.[4] Then the sailors round the Italian peninsula with west wind and land on the Phaeacian island of Drepane according to Hera's plan. On the day of their departure from Drepane they are blown off course by a storm from the north which lasts for nine days until they reach the Great Syrte[5] on the northern African coast. From there they carry the ship on their shoulders over land for twelve days and reach Triton's lake[6] in the vicinity of which they find the spring of the Hesperides. To return to Greece the Argonauts cross the Aegaean with south wind in the direction of the island of Karpathos. They land on the eastern tip of Crete, on the island of Anaphe in the Cyclades,[7] they become the founders of the island of Thera by throwing Triton's clod in the sea and stop at Aigina to replenish their water supply. Finally they follow the coast of Attika and sail along Euboia to Pagasai from where they originally set sail.

The "geographical frame" of the epic, as the voyage of the Argonauts may be called, parallels a *periplous*, the account of a voyage along extensive swaths of the Mediterranean and the Pontos.[8] For navigation the sailors depend mainly on the coastline and its landmarks. The generally shorter stretches of the trip on rivers and over land mainly allow the passage from one sea to the next. The geographical frame of the epic is internally consistent to the extent that every choice of route and every change of course is clearly justified.[9] Most

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[4] The reason for this choice of route can be traced to *Od.* 12.69 (passage of Argo through the Planktai παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα) but see also Hunter (1993b) XXI: "Apollonius constructs the voyage in such a way as to encompass as much of the known world as possible, and his mixture of 'scientific' and fabulous geography is very typical of his age. An important influence here was the *Odyssey*, as one tradition placed Odysseus' wanderings in the western Mediterranean"; on the great importance of the *Odyssey* for the *Argonautica* see Dufner (1988) and on the *Odyssey* as a frame of reference for Hellenistic geography as a whole see Prontera (1993) 388 f.

[5] Delage (1930) 255–61; Livrea (1973) 349; differently Herter (1973) 42.

[6] Green (1997a) 344 correctly points out that the lake is mythological and does not correspond to any actual geographical feature; on Delage's attempts to identify this lake see Braswell (1988) 90 and Green (1997a) 345. As in Pindar (Pi. *P.* 4.20 f.) the lake should probably be located in the region of Kyrene.

[7] East of Santorini, Green (1997a) 357 f.

[8] On this genre see Gisinger (1937) 841–50; Güngerich (1950); Prontera (1992).

[9] See especially the authorial statement in 4.552–56: ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρὲξ ἁλός, ἀμφί τε γαῖαν/Αὐσονίην νήσους τε Λιγυστίδας, αἳ καλέονται/Στοιχάδες, Ἀργῴης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς/νημερτὲς πέφαται; τίς ἀπόπροθι τόσσον ἀνάγκη/

of the "guides" who offer their services to the geographically inexperienced Argonauts are surprisingly well informed. The seer Phineus (2.311–407), for instance, or the friendly Hylleans (4.526–28) or the helpful god Triton-Eurypylos (4.1571–85) show how geographical knowledge helps with plotting a route.[10] The uncertainty of the Argonauts themselves suits a voyage that took place in mythical time, underscoring the dangerous and tragic aspect of the enterprise. This uncertainty contrasts, doubtless on purpose, with Apollonius' geographical knowledge which was clearly the result of extensive research.[11] In the environment of the Alexandrian Library with its sophisticated scholars the epic poet could *not* afford to ignore the work of geographers and local historians. The courts of Alexander's successors offered the best access to geographical knowledge in the 3rd century B.C.[12] Equally self-evident for a poet with Apollonius' ambitions is the need to master the poetic tradition.[13] The geography of the *Argonautica* is inconceivable not only without Homer and Pindar but also without the geographical commentators of Homer and the authors of *periploi* and descriptions of the Earth. The periplous-like catalogue of the Argonauts (1.23–277) is patterned on the Iliadic catalogue of ships and showcases, along with the catalogue of cities in the Propontis, Apollonius' elaboration, or modification, of the Homeric geography in the light of later sources.[14] This technique characterizes especially

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καὶ χρειὼ σφ' ἐκόμισσε; τίνες σφέας ἤγαγον αὖραι; ("how is it, goddesses, that beyond this sea, in the Ausonian land and the Ligurian islands Stoichades, many clear traces of the Argo's voyage appear? What necessity and need took them so far away? What winds directed them?"). On the principle of the "durchgängige Weisung der Wege" to the Argonauts see Fränkel (1968) 180–2. Delage (1930) 289, on the other hand, discusses the changes of route dictated by tradition. For Rubio (1992) 67, the orientation crisis is a characteristic component of the geographical frame of the epic. "Geographical" crises reflect the crises in myth, on which see Paduano (1992); Hurst (1998).

[10] The behaviour of the Hylleans is indicative: ἐμηχανόωντο κέλευθον/μισθὸν ἀειράμενοι (4.527 f.). Triton-Eurypylos has detailed knowledge of the port and the coastline, including the end of the northbound route through the Aegean.

[11] Delage (1930) 277–81. Apollonius was steeped in κτίσις-literature. On his hexameter poems about the foundation of various cities see Herter (1973) 409 f.; Vian (1976) XXIV f.; Krevans (2000).

[12] Fraser (1972) vol. I, 520–53; Pfister (1961); Jakob (1998).

[13] Delage (1930) 277–9; Herter (1956) 302–4; Hunter (1996c) 875 f. On Apollonius' Homeric studies see Rengakos (1994a).

[14] On the geography of the catalogue of the Argonauts see Delage (1930) 38 f.; Green (1997a) 203. The myth of the *Argonautica* necessitated the mention of Miletos and Samos instead of the Ionian islands in Homer. Thus the *periplous* is, on the whole, more accurate, as is shown by the mention of Phokis after Aitolia. On Hellespont see Delage (1930) 92, 278.

the Odyssean part of the Argonautic *periplous* in southern Italy.[15] Pindar's fourth *Pythian* is the most important model for the episodes in Libya and Thera. The familiarity of the audience or readers of the *Argonautica* with these sources is taken for granted.

The voyage of the Argo is closely related with the heroic plot of the *Argonautica*, the successful performance of a labour by a young man with the help of gods, other heroes and the love of a barbarian witch. This labour necessarily takes Jason and his comrades to the ends of the known world, to the outskirts of the realm of death and, in the case of some comrades, even beyond.[16] The voyage also allows Apollonius to piece together the numerous aetiological myths he found in the Argonautic literature and the local histories of Greek cities. For example, the foundation myth of Kyrene with the genealogy of the Battiads explains why, already in Pindar, it was almost obligatory for the Argonauts to land on N. Africa.[17] Thus one could get the initial impression that the geography of the *Argonautica* was dictated by myth. In what follows we will attempt a geographical reading of the *Argonautica*. The places visited by the Argonauts make up an imaginary *periplous* map and we will focus not on the examination of geographical and topographical data but on an attempt to integrate the epic into the tradition of Greek geographical literature. Such an approach has not been very popular so far.[18] This is due on the one hand to the fragmentary state of the geographical texts and on the other to the fact that the history of Hellenistic geographical literature became of greater interest to scholars only recently.[19] But even on the basis of the scarce material that has survived from Apollonius' time it can be shown that his conception of the Earth is typical of geographical thought in the early Hellenistic period.

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[15] Delage (1930) 239–53; Romm (1992) 194 f. Interesting speculation about a metatextual joke by Hera (!) concerning the notorious Planktai (4.784–90) in Green (1997a) 326.

[16] On underworld-like situations and landscapes see Hunter (1993a) 30 f., 184.

[17] As in the *Argonautica*, in Pindar's *P.* 4.26 the Argonauts carry the ship on their shoulders for twelve days and cross the continent. The nine-day storm, which sends the Argonauts to Libya (4.1233 f.), is reminiscent of the nine days which took Odysseus to reach the Lotus Eaters from cape Maleia (*Od.* 9.79–84); see Delage (1930) 264; Livrea (1973) 348.

[18] See, though, Vian (1981) 11–46 for a critical survey of the geographical literature which is considerably more accurate in comparison to that in Delage (1930).

[19] Studies dealt mainly with the "major" authors, e.g. van Paassen (1957), because the majority of Hellenistic geographers were considered antiquarians and thus of

For the cities and the topography of Greece, the inner Pontos region and the western Mediterranean Apollonius could draw on sources which possibly relied on personal knowledge.[20] This applies in part to the Libyan episode too, especially to the early history of Cyrenaica, the home of Callimachus,[21] which was very well known in Alexandria. The eastern Pontos, however, is presented from an ethnographical rather than a geographical point of view; in this case Apollonius had no local historians to draw on.[22] The Alexandrian poet and his contemporaries appear to have had only a vague notion about the north of the *oikoumene.*[23]

Since Delage[24] historical and geographical research has been able to substantiate or explain some of the topographical information Apollonius and his sources provide about various locations. In his introduction to book 4 Vian has collected the geographical tradition about the places the Argonauts visited on the return trip.[25] Relying on Apollonius and his sources the epigraphist Robert and the archaeologist Ehrhardt have shown the importance of foundation myths for the self-conception of the Greek cities in Asia Minor.[26] Studies on Greek colonization have

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little interest. Ancient geography has long been an appropriate subject for the history of science or historical geography, not for literary studies; see though now Prontera (1984) and below n. 44. For a survey of Hellenistic geography see Susemihl (1891) 649–701; Gisinger (1924) 602–4; Fraser (1972). A scholarly edition of the fragments of Greek geographers is currently being published under the direction of H.-J. Gehrke (Freiburg); see above the preliminary note.

[20] Some names are mentioned in the *scholia*; see Delage (1930) 51–73, 277–81; Herter (1956) 302–6; Herter (1973) 44 f. Next to famous historians like Hecataeus (on whom see Pearson [1938] and Herter [1956]), Herodotus (Delage [1930] 79, doubtful according to Herter [1956] 303, but differently Herter [1973] 41), Pherecydes, Ephorus, Timaeus (for the west) and Xenophon ("mehr als zweifelhaft" Herter [1956] 303, cf. Beye [1982] 75 f., Hunter [1993a] 19 f.) there appear less known ones like Timagetus (*FHG* IV, 519 f., only in the *scholia*), Deiochus (*FGrHist* 471) and Neanthes (*FGrHist* 84) for Kyzikos, Herodorus (*FGrHist* 31), Nymphis (*FGrHist* 432) and Promathidas (*FGrHist* 430) for Herakleia Pontike.

[21] Every local mythology has its own topography. Concerning Libya, Vian (1981) 63 observes: "Apollonios a disposé d'une excellente information". On the Libyan episode see now Livrea (1987) who shows that Apollonius' version is not an arbitrary contamination of sources (*ibid.* 176).

[22] The savage and hostile local nations give the Argonauts an idea of the conditions in Colchis; see Delage (1930) 282; Beye (1982) 102 f. The ethnographical source may have been the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά or 'Ασίας of Nymphodorus (*FHG* 2, 379 ff.), which are mentioned in the *scholia*, cf. Höfer (1904).

[23] Vian (1981) 19.

[24] Delage (1930).

[25] Vian (1981); see n. 18 above.

[26] Robert (1980); Ehrhardt (1995); cf. also Vian (1974b).

> also looked into the eastern Black Sea region.[27] The numerous ancient sources about the western Mediterranean, which are in part related to the *Odyssey* exegesis, allow us to evaluate the historical and geographical information about this region in the *Argonautica*. Modern hypotheses about the exact route of the Argonauts in northern Europe have not been equally convincing.[28]

Modern literary scholarship has approached the geography of the Argonauts' voyage in the epic of Apollonius primarily from a narratological point of view. Apart from the fundamental problems of the geographical-historical background of the narrative and the geographical sources of Apollonius, scholarly interest has focused mainly on how the disparate geographical material is integrated into the narrative structure of the epic. Landscape description has been generally understood either as a manifestation of the poet's learning or even as a romantic backdrop reflecting the inner world of the travellers. More recently, the historical-political implications of geographical descriptions as well as their relation to the conceptualization of physical space and cultural identity has also been taken into account. However, the epic *periplous* has not yet been put in the context of the history of geographical literature and thought.[29]

In line with the interests of their time, the groundbreaking studies of Apollonius' geography were concerned with the geographical knowledge of the poet and the sources he drew on.[30] Implicit here is an attempt to evaluate scientifically the geographical data in the *Argonautica* by determining their place on a scale whose extremes are myth and "modern" science. The great histories of geography which were published in the last century offered the framework for this evaluation of the Hellenistic *poeta doctus* in the light of the history of science.[31] Great expectations from the poet of the *Argonautica* are

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[27] Boardman (1980) 238–55; see also Braund (1994) and the articles in Lordkipanidzé-Lévêque (1996).

[28] See, e.g., Delage (1930) 230–4; Herter (1973) 42, and Lévêque in Lordkipanidzé-Lévêque (1996) 48. Partsch (1919) is, by comparison, very cautious.

[29] For some brief comments see Delage (1930) 14–9; Rubio (1992) 70–81.

[30] Walther (1891) and Delage (1930). It is not accidental that Walther's study appeared in the time of the great histories of geography by Forbiger (1842–77), Bunbury (1883) and Berger (1887–93). The question of geographical exactitude appears prominently again in Herter (1956) and (1973). The comment in Bunbury (1883) 21 is characteristic of the reader's expectations from Apollonius: "The voyage of the Argonauts . . . has almost the accuracy of a geographical treatise".

[31] See n. 30.

not unfounded: Apollonius wrote at a time when the discoveries during Alexander's campaigns and the accumulation of scientific knowledge in the Alexandrian Mouseion made possible the advance of geography which culminated in the work of Eratosthenes of Kyrene. Eratosthenes was not only poet and geographer but also Apollonius' successor as head of the Alexandrian library.[32] A positivistic approach to the geography of Apollonius is also fully justified because the poet himself shows an unusual interest in technological and scientific matters; in many instances this interest goes beyond the knowledge of the layman and follows closely the new "cutting-edge" developments, particularly in seafaring and medicine.[33] However, the evaluation of Apollonius' geographical knowledge faces a methodological difficulty. The geography of the Argonautic expedition is closely related to a mythical adventure which is older than the *Odyssey* and contains elements of a purely mythical geography.[34] It is exactly this myth, with its terrifying description of exotic lands, which is recounted in the *Argonautica*. The poet, therefore, undertakes the by no means simple task of integrating convincingly the mythical geography handed down by tradition and the knowledge of his time into a plausible narrative. This should be taken into account in a discussion of Apollonius' acquaintance with the geographical knowledge of his time.

The geography of the *Argonautica* has also been studied with respect to the relation between poetic geography and reality; this bears on the notorious issue of the unity and the aesthetic value of the epic.[35] Does Apollonius give a coherent picture of the Earth or simply a farrago of mythical-poetical traditions and empirical knowledge of more recent explorers? How is the obviously dry geographical "material" integrated into the narrative? Does the pretentious show of geographical learning mesh with the poetic intention of the epic as a

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[32] Pfeiffer (1978) 178, 194; Aujac (1998).

[33] On seafaring in the *Argonautica* see Fränkel (1968) 635 (I, 38, 3); Rostropowicz (1990) and Janni (1996) 345 n. 26, 167 n. 90; on medicine see Hunter (1989a) 179 f.

[34] In its cosmological association with Chaos, the concept of the Okeanos flowing around the Earth is an element of the oldest mythical geography. Reaching the stream of the Okeanos is, therefore, dangerous; cf. Romm (1992) 12–7, esp. 16 n. 24, 20–6.

[35] Cf. Knaack (1895) 129 (quoted in Glei-Natzel-Glei [1996] XII): "Aber es war ein verfehltes Unterfangen des A., den Homeriker zu spielen und zugleich im Geiste seiner Zeit eine gelehrte Periegese und eine sentimentale Liebesgeschichte in das Epos hineinzutragen . . ."; cf. Wilamowitz (1924) 227 and Rubio (1992) 38 f. for similar negative remarks in Anglosaxon scholarship.

whole? Stemming from the literary interest in the structure of the epic narrative and the relation of the epic to reality, these questions lead to a fundamental problem in the modern scholarship on the *Argonautica*: making a scientific geographer of Apollonius seems to be wide of the mark, and the view that the poet from Rhodes primarily intended to force into hexameters abstruse bookish knowledge about distant lands and their geography is equally unhelpful. The thesis that in many passages Apollonius is nothing but the poet of a didactic epic on geography is seldom put forth appreciatively, since the purposes of science and fictional poetry are thought to be *a priori* incompatible.[36] The perceived conflict between poetry and science in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius explains to a large extent the critical approach to the epic adopted by older scholars who assumed a fondness for geography on Apollonius' part.

> Delage, the translator of the Budé text of the *Argonautica*, collected the geographical material in the epic and discussed it in the light of the *scholia* and modern travelogues. His still indispensable study is primarily concerned with the problem of Apollonius' sources, deals with questions of historical geography but also attempts to appreciate the epic aesthetically. In his survey Herter also criticized Delage's unfounded speculations about the geographical sources of Apollonius, pointed out the lack of first-hand knowledge of geographical details and, not least, took issue with Delage's anachronistic attitude to poetry.[37] Herter's study profited primarily from Pearson whose speculations about Apollonius' old Ionian sources are, however, often unconvincing.[38] The question of how geography functions in the *Argonautica* remains still largely unanswered. Whereas Delage thinks that the epic aims primarily at presenting geographical knowledge,[39] Herter subordinates the presentation of this knowledge to the aetiological-mythological interests of the poet.[40]

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[36] "Oft ist es so, als ob es sich nicht um ein Gedicht, sondern um eine geographisch-mythologische Periegese handelte", Schmid-Stählin (1920) 145, quoted in Glei-Natzel-Glei (1996) XII. Livrea (1973) XXII characterizes the *Argonautica* as a "didactic poem" without any negative connotations; see, however, Dalzell (1996) for the usual negative attitude. The problematic relation of poetry and science is discussed in detail by Jakob (1993) 400–30, esp. 402 f.

[37] For the lack of unity in the *Argonautica* see Delage (1930) 202 f., 283, 286, 289 f. and the comments in Herter (1956) 302–4. Hurst (1998) defends the aesthetic unity of Apollonius' geography by emphasizing its coherence. It is preferable to acknowledge with Hunter (1993a) 5 that "inconsistency and unevenness reign in all aspects of the *Argonautica*...".

[38] Cf. Pearson (1938) and Herter (1956) 302. The uncertainty ultimately derives from the absence of any guarantee that the *scholia* cite every single source of Apollonius.

[39] "L'élément essentiel des *Argonautiques*" (Delage [1930] 7); "l'épopée d'Apollonios est surtout géographique" (*ibid.* 9); for reservations see Levin (1971) 28 f. and n. 4.

[40] See also Herter (1973) 42.

> For the rest he agrees with Pearson that Apollonius' predilection for older Greek geographers aims at creating "an air of antiquity" and "reality".[41]

It is apparent that judging Apollonius as a geographer depends on preconceptions about the science of geography on the one hand and aesthetic criteria on the other. Geography seeks to represent nature in a manner faithful to reality whereas poetry calls for freedom in the handling of the material and a concept of aesthetic unity. However, the ideal of scientific geography which is primarily interested in the "objective" representation of physical space on a mathematical basis has changed in modern times.

In the second half of the 20th century modern geography has drawn an important distinction: "geography", as subject matter of the eponymous science, comprises not only objective data about the Earth's surface but also the perception, and the model, of physical space.[42] A "mental map" is created on the basis of personal experiences, oral or written learning and geographical speculation. Thus today one will not evaluate only the geographical knowledge of an ancient author by comparing it with the *ex eventu* rated achievements of his colleagues: the author's perception and conception of physical space is also to be taken into account. This approach focuses primarily on the nature of spatial perception and orientation as well as on the nature of human action in relation to the ambient physical space. In what follows we will adopt this broad notion of geography which comprises both topography and the study of geographical speculation, fantasy and mythology. As a consequence, the subject-matter of geography includes the affective relation of humans to space, which can also be expressed in literary texts. The quality of Apollonius' geography is manifest in that he describes with precision not only people in a landscape but also the subjective perception of geographical space.[43]

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[41] Pearson (1938) 456, 459, cf. 447: "There are a number of passages where the geographical detail is unnecessarily full, adding nothing to the story, merely revealing the poet's interest in geographical knowledge". Unlike him, Delage (1930) 279 and 281 seems to believe that Apollonius drew primarily on later historians like Timaios, Timagetos and the local historians of the 4th century. Nevertheless, we know very little about Apollonius' actual sources.

[42] See Janni (1984) 11–4; Bonnafé (1991–92); Gehrke (1998) 163 f. n. 5; Meyer (1998b) 61–3 and Jacob (1989).

[43] Williams (1991) 16. On the subjectivity of geographical perspective in Apollonius see also Meyer (1998b) 71. Fränkel (1968) often adopts a similar approach in his description of Apollonius' geographical interests.

In the recent past this innovative approach of modern geography has been adopted by the sciences of antiquity since the broader horizon of geographical inquiry and the consideration of non-scientific forms of spatial perception amounts to a reappraisal of the literary tradition as a source of geography. The subjective perception of geographical space is influenced by traditional learning, stories and fables in literature as well as by empirical knowledge. The literary character of the ancient geographical tradition has been emphasized especially by Prontera, Nicolet and Romm.[44] As the development of Greek and Roman geography clearly suggests, in descriptions of the Earth verbal description[45] and narration[46] assume a role greater than one would expect, given their irrelevance to natural science. This is apparent, as scholars have observed, from the popularity of *periplous* as a form of presenting geographical material[47] as well as from the affinity of geography to ethnography and local history, which is to be attributed to the historiographical origins of geography.[48] Science and storytelling meet sometimes in surprising combinations. In his *periplous*-like work περὶ λιμένων a contemporary of Apollonius, the Rhodian Timosthenes, who was an admiral under Ptolemy II Philadelphus, seems to have occupied the entire generic spectrum extending from nautical logbook to antiquarian aetiology and cartography.[49] In this and other respects Timosthenes is a predecessor of Eratosthenes.

Stories about place names and topographical peculiarities are a staple of ancient geographical prose. On the other hand, there are passages in poetry which can be read geographically. Gods crisscross the sky and follow the earthly routes of humans;[50] like the

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[44] Prontera (1984); Nicolet (1988); Romm (1992) 7 ("nearly all geography, in antiquity, can be read as a form of literature"); Prontera (1992); cf. though already van Paassen (1957).

[45] Janni (1984) 41–9.

[46] Romm (1992) 5.

[47] Güngerich (1950) 6; Gehrke (1998) 165 f.

[48] Jacoby (1909), Prontera (1984) and Prontera (1992).

[49] On the multiple interests of Timosthenes of Rhodes, who is considered a scientific geographer by Delage (1930) 18, see Wagner (1880), Prontera (1992) and Meyer (1998a). Other *periploi* with the title περὶ λιμένων are ascribed only to Cleon of Syracuse (*FHG* IV 365) and Timagetos (*FHG* IV 519 f.) but no fragments have survived. From Timagetos Apollonius took over the Argonauts' voyage on the Istros and the Celtic lakes; see Delage (1930) 279, Green (1997a) 302 f.

[50] At *Il.* 14.225–30 Hera takes the Argonauts' route around Athos in her travel from Olympos to Lemnos; see Janni (1984) 121, Gehrke (1998) 165. Locations of the Argonautic *periplous* also appear in the wanderings of Io at A. *Pr.* 705 ff., 790 ff.; see Finkelberg (1998), Bonnafé (1991–92).

Greeks on their way home from Troy, the Argonauts are blown off course to strange places, and heroes like Herakles travel throughout the inhabited world; catalogues are structured geographically[51] and symbolism or pathos creates poetical landscapes.[52] Apollonius of Rhodes can be considered one of the most important geographical authors of his time even if his reworking of the geographical tradition differs from that of Eratosthenes, a radical critic of Homeric geography.[53] The integration of the *Argonautica* into the tradition of geographical literature, which includes poets as well as prose writers who wrote about the form and the appearance of the Earth's surface, can be further justified. Apollonius recalls a centuries-old tradition of geographical narratives with his famous geographical *petit tour de force*,[54] the voyage of the Argonauts from Colchis to Thessaly via the western Mediterranean on a route that combines scientific and fantastic elements. He relies not so much on empirical geographical knowledge as on an imaginary map on which earlier poets and historians have left their marks—signposts that cannot be ignored by a Hellenistic writer. His educated listeners and readers experience the expansion and modification of the traditional itinerary of the Argonauts and at the same time every locale on the Argonauts' route signals a positive or negative stance to a particular tradition. Thus Apollonius clearly subscribes to an old tradition according to which some of Odysseus' wanderings took place in the western Mediterranean just like the chronologically earlier passage of the Argo through the Planktai.[55] On the other hand, the poet appears

[51] On the spatiotemporal organising principle of the Homeric and Hesiodic catalogues and their importance for the early history of Greek geography see Gehrke (1998) 165 f. The flight of the Boreads (*Arg.* 2.273–300) has a more detailed geographical model in Hesiod, fr. 150–6 M.-W.; cf. also West (1985) 84 f. Beye (1982) 102 f. suggests that the "geographical" second book of the *Argonautica* is an adaptation of Hesiodic catalogue poetry; cf. Hunter (1993a) 95.

[52] See the extensive study of Bernand (1985). The influence of "tragic" geography on Apollonius is studied only incidentally by Williams (1991); see also Williams (1991) 13 on landscape in Pindar, 12 and 309–13 on the role of geography in the Homeric *Hymns* and on Apollonius' reception of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*; see also, though, the objections in Köhnken (2000).

[53] Eratosthenes disputed the geographical competence of Homer and even the intention of the poet to present real geography; see Str. 1.2.15 = Eratosth. fr. I A 16 Berger on which see Romm (1992) 185 f.

[54] Delage (1930) 289.

[55] The localization of Odysseus' itinerary in southern Italy is related to the establishment of Greek colonies; see now Malkin (1998) 178–209. The location of

to have rejected some versions which suggested the possibility of a return trip via the circular Okeanos.[56] Instead Jason and his companions wander into very remote and totally unfamiliar regions with which, though, Apollonius' contemporaries are acquainted through various travelogues.[57]

The heroic *nostos* of the Argonauts through the *oikoumene* is the best known case of a legendary voyage harmonized with the geographical notions of the various times in which the story of this voyage was told.[58] After Delage, Vian has shown how the Argonautic *periplous*, which was famous already in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 12.70) of the 7th cent. B.C., is increasingly localized in the known world until finally Apollonius eschews entirely the ship's sailing on the mythical Okeanos.[59] In a famous passage (4.636–44) Hera, who influences the Argonauts' route on other occasions too, prohibits Argo from sailing into the Okeanos because this would mean the Argonauts' certain demise. For the return from Colchis to Iolkos historians and poets before Apollonius had suggested three different itineraries in which the same places could be visited at different times.[60] In view of the multiple possibilities offered by the literary tradition, Apollonius' choice of route is of great importance for the issue of his "scientific" attitude. According to Vian, the accuracy and honesty of the Rhodian is crucial in this respect when it comes to the limits of his own knowledge.[61] As he did in the case of the Okeanos, Apollonius does

Kirke and the island of the Sirens goes back to Hesiod, *ibid.* 188 f. This colonial topography gives rise to a geography which is then further developed from the 4th century onwards by historians with geographical interests (like Timaios and Timagetos); see Romm (1992) 183–96, esp. 184 f. and 194 n. 51.

[56] The existence of the Okeanos was vigorously denied already by Herodotus; see Romm (1992) 32–41, Green (1997b) 42 with n. 23. "Okeanos" is for Eratosthenes almost a synonym for "fiction"; cf. Str. 1.2.19 = fr. I A 14 Berger, see Romm (1973).

[57] Cf. Call. *Jov.* 65: ἅ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκουήν.

[58] The *nostos* of the Argonauts is only one example of such geographical "updating"; on the triumphant procession of Dionysus through the whole world in Euripides *Ba.* 13–9 as a piece of Hellenistic geography see Dihle (1981) 12–25 and on the modification of Io's itinerary see Finkelberg (1998).

[59] Delage (1930) 287 f.; Vian (1981) 11–68; Vian (1987). On the Argonautic saga before Pindar see also Braswell (1988) 347 f.

[60] In Pi. *P.* 4.252 ff., the Argonauts visit Lemnos on the return trip; see the overview of the ports of call in Dräger (1996) 1068 f., Green (1997a) 302 f. Unfortunately we do not know what route Callimachus chose for the Colchians and the Argonauts, but see Vian (1981) 18, 34 f.

[61] Vian (1987a) 255.

not deny the existence of the Hyperboreans but he does not give them a place in his narrative.[62] The accuracy of geographical data has increased in comparison to earlier poets but the archaising flavour of his poetry is unmistakable. For Apollonius *qua* epic poet and his Argonauts the Okeanos, the Hyperboreans and the Rhipaean mountains, the gates of Night and the sun-scorched western Aethiopians do exist, even though the Argonauts do not travel there. The sun and the moon rise above a fixed horizon, "the outermost limit of the Earth", although Apollonius was clearly aware of the Earth's spherical shape.[63] These are elements of the epic tradition and it is possible that Apollonius did intend to portray the archaic outlook of the Argonauts, as Fränkel suspects. The story of an old Egyptian map (4.279 f.) is at any rate an indication that Apollonius presupposes a scientific and cultural progress of sorts.[64] For its part, the landscape too changed after Argo sailed by.[65]

However, the Hellenistic geography is not characterized only by the tension between empirical data and a mythology which today's readers may be unfamiliar with. The credit for pointing out the influence of pre-scientific, empirical forms of spatial orientation on ancient geographical literature belongs to Janni.[66] To understand the geographical texts one must distinguish between two conceptions of spatial orientation: one in terms of the empirical "hodological" *periplous*, in which space is conceived by way of personally experienced landmarks and routes, and another in terms of speculative cartography and geography, which construct a schematic representation of the

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[62] 2.647–76; 4.611–7; Romm (1992) 195. Apollonius leaves thus no doubt that he moves in the *epic* world. He avoids, though, the direct clash with his contemporaries' sense of realism. Dealing with reality in this manner is by no means naive; cf. Hunter (1993b) XXIII f.: "Alexandrian scholars were well aware of the potentially great difference between a story's or description's being textually attested and its being true."

[63] On elements of "géographie fabuleuse" see Delage (1930) 290, Fränkel (1968) 508 n. 109, 434 f., 458.

[64] According to this tradition early Egyptian colonists brought the map and knowledge to Colchis. This is an allusion to Sesostris and Alexander; cf. Hunter (1991) 94 ff. and (1993a) 162–3.

[65] 4.261 (there was originally no moon), 4.266 (there were originally no stars), 2.604 f. (the clashing of the Symplegades stopped), 4.1757 f. (creation of Thera); see Williams (1991) 185–210, as well as Aujac (1998) on speculations about the change of the surface of the Earth in contemporary physical geography; cf. also Berger (1880) 57–69.

[66] Janni (1984); Gehrke (1998) 163 f. n. 5, 165.

Earth and the routes on it. It is characteristic that ancient geography retains the "spazio vissuto" even when the conception of the Earth is founded on astronomical observations and geometrical speculation.[67] Numerous geographical errors in our sources are to be attributed to the unwarranted identification of historical trade routes with actual divisions of land and sea.[68] Thus Cape Karambis on the southern coast of the Black Sea was erroneously believed to be the northernmost end of the coastline. Consequently Apollonius assumes that this cape lies "opposite the Great Bear" (2.360) and that it channels the north wind in two directions.[69] In fact the cape marks only the beginning of an important trade route across Pontos and along the northern coast, but this route is by no means directly northbound.[70] In maps the Pontos was squarely enclosed by two opposite headlands, Cape Karambis and the Kriou Metopon, which was placed in the north. According to Apollonius, the Black Sea and Adriatic Sea were linked by Istros, a network of waterways connected with the Okeanos, on which the Argonauts sailed in their escape from Colchis. Istros too is not a real geographical entity but a projection onto an imaginary map of something which was partly trade route and partly schematic speculation.[71] Apollonius mentions three transcontinental river systems and their lakes. To the east the Black Sea is linked with the Caspian Sea whereas to the west and north it is linked with the Adriatic and the Rhipean mountains respectively; the Adriatic is linked, by way of the Eridanos and the Rhodanos, with the Celtic lakes, the northern Okeanos and the western Mediterranean. Such a schematic conceptualization of landmasses and waterways did not originate with Apollonius but it is much more

[67] On the concept of "spazio vissuto" see Janni (1984) 78, 94; on its importance for Greek cartography see 65–78.

[68] Vian (1987) 254 makes a good point about the return trip of the Argonauts: "Il est bien connu que la cartographie ancienne est à deux dimensions: elle néglige les montagnes et tient compte exclusivement des mers, du contour des terres habitées et des cours d'eau. Si l'on préfère, on peut dire encore que les réseaux hydrographiques se confondent avec les voies commerciales qui suivent les fleuves, mais empruntent évidemment aussi les cols pour passer d'un bassin à l'autre".

[69] See Fränkel (1968) 175 f.; Strab. 2.124 f., 7.309. The schematic assignment of winds to celestial points is characteristic of "scientific" geography; see Meyer (1998a) 210–13.

[70] Fränkel (1968) (see previous note). Arnaud (1992) 64, demonstrated that it was the most widely used route across the Euxine (cf. the maps in Arnaud).

[71] Delage (1930) 203 f.; Green (1997a).

prominent in his epic than in any other extant source.[72] Apollonius calls the Balkan peninsula, which is traversed by the Istros, an "αὐχὴν γαίης" (4.307), a tongue of land separating two seas.[73] Already in Herodotus the continents are separated by hypothetical "land straits" whose existence can be assumed only because actual distances in the inland were unknown or underestimated.[74] The "Balkan Isthmus" is mentioned also by Hellenistic authors.[75] The Pontos and the Adriatic were traditionally thought to be visible simultaneously from Mount Haimos. This geography reflects a wish for a bird's eye view of a known stretch of distant land, as if one were looking down at it on a map. Especially the relative position of various locations makes sense only in terms of such a quasi-cartographic overview, an experience one can have in several places in mountainous Greece. Various forms of such flight and hiking fantasies are to be found in Greek literature.[76] They make possible the visualization of an imaginary map and thereby not only the orientation of the reader but also the appreciation of the landscape's extent. The shadow of Mount Athos (1.601–4), which purportedly reaches to the coast of Lemnos, may perhaps be understood as an example of such a quasi-cartographic sea route, even if the emphasis here is on the great size of the mountain. The cartographic thought-experiment of this type is even more clearly exemplified in Aietes' ride on the chariot of the Sun[77] and in the description of the river Thermodon.[78] It is, however, also

[72] Fränkel (1968) 507–9; Vian (1987) 254 with n. 15.

[73] Delage (1930) 209 with n. 2.

[74] Janni (1984) 153. This aspect of Greek geographical thought shows very clearly that the water was considered the primary factor in the division of landmasses.

[75] See Strab. 7.5.1, 7.5.9; Delage (1930) 208 f.; Janni (1984) 152 with n. 216; Green (1997a) 306 f.

[76] They extend from the realizable and strategically important possibility of a topographical survey from an elevation to the dream of a bird's-eye view of the continents in Eratosthenes' *Hermes* (Berger [1887–93] 398 f.); on cartographic vision in Herodotus see Aigner (1974) and on the philosophical and geographical view from above see further Romm (1992) 127 f., Jacob (1989).

[77] 3.309–15; the simultaneous view of the opposite ends of the world is also implied at 3.1119 f., on which see Fränkel (1968) 343 and cf. 539, 435. In contrast to the flight of Homeric gods Aietes' flight is no *periplous* because he follows the trajectory of the sun. On the geographical importance of the east-west axis, especially in Dicaearchus, see also Meyer (1998b) 71. Eros could also enjoy the view from above at 3.158–66 (cf. *Od.* 5.50), on which see Williams (1991) 228–31, Fränkel (1968) 200 n. 122. On the history of Greek cartographic thought see also Aujac (1987).

[78] 2.972–84, on which see Fränkel (1968) 252 ff., Williams (1991) 279: "The

implied by the sweeping bird's-eye view of the *oikoumene*[79] in the simile illustrating the speed of the divine trip (2.541 ff.):

> ὡς δ' ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος—οἷά τε πολλὰ
> πλαζόμεθ' ἄνθρωποι τετληότες, οὐδέ τις αἶα
> τηλουρός, πᾶσαι δὲ κατόψιοί εἰσι κέλευθοι—,
> σφωιτέρους δ' ἐνόησε δόμους, ἄμυδις δὲ κέλευθος
> ὑγρή τε τραφερή τ' ἰνδάλλεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλη
> ὀξέα πορφύρων ἐπιμαίεται ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.
>
> As when a man who wanders far from his own land—as indeed we wretched men often do wander, and no land seems distant, but all paths are spread before us—can picture his own home, and as he sees in a flash the path there over land and sea, his thoughts dart quickly and his eyes grasp one place after another.

Thus clear visualization in landscape descriptions has a poetic as well as a geographical dimension.[80] The Argonauts themselves visualize their route aided by the "educational geographical video" of the seer Phineus, an "oral map"[81] (2.317–407), and by an inscription, an account of which is given by Argos, the son of Phrixos (4.256 ff.). According to this account the inscription contained an actual map.[82]

The Hellenistic geography of Apollonius is primarily a developed form of speculative geography. The narrative frame, the dangerous *nostos* of the Argonauts, offers the poet an opportunity to incorporate in his epic, and highlight poetically, a considerable amount of

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Thermodon is described for the reader as if one were looking down at it on a map".

[79] Cf. *Il.* 15.80–3 and Fränkel (1968) 200 ("wie auf einer Landkarte"), 252 ff.; Meyer (1998b) 69–71.

[80] Williams (1991) 21. For the perception of phenomena like the curvature of the sea surface see Fränkel (1968) 318; interestingly, Eratosthenes explained the Symplegades as an optical phenomenon: Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ ἐν γεωγραφουμένοις φησὶ τὸν πλοῦν εἶναι στενὸν καὶ σκολιόν, δι' οὗ φαντάζεσθαι τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τῶν πετρῶν, *sch.* E. *Med.* 2 = fr. III B 8 Berger, cf. fr. III B 80–3, Delage (1930) 131. In the *Argonautica* the description of the coast fits in with the poetical topography of the Symplegades (see Fränkel [1968] 204).

[81] Fränkel (1968) 179 ("geographischer Lehrfilm", "gesprochene Landkarte"). In this case, though, the concept of an oral *periplous* or a *periegesis* would be more accurate because the description follows the hodologic principle. For Phineus' speech as *periegesis* cf. Hunter (1993a) 94 f.

[82] Janni (1984) 35 with n. 43 attacks 19th century geographers who used this passage to show that there existed an ancient cartography which produced usable maps. This passage rather echoes the speculative "scientific" geography; cf. the ball of Eros (3.131–41), which is described as a globe.

geographical lore about the *oikoumene*. The geographical "material" is organized along the lines of a *periplous* or in terms of the quasi-cartographic bird's-eye view.[83] This geography is "scientific", in the modern sense of the term, primarily on account of the fullness and quality of the material Apollonius collected. Some other *topoi* of geographical discourse taken over by Apollonius, like the geographical interpretation of the *Odyssey* and the speculative schematization, do support the observation of Lloyd "that much of Greek science consists in the rationalization of popular belief".[84]

There remains the question of whether the specifically Apollonian compilation of geographical traditions makes a special statement, in other words, what intentions are implicit in the mental map of the *Argonautica*. Does Apollonius go beyond the sheer joy of landscape description or the geographical instruction of his audience? Even if we do not always know the geographical traditions Apollonius accepted,[85] it is nevertheless clear that the relation of humans to physical space, especially the history of human geographical expansion, play a crucial role in the *Argonautica*. This topic was handled in a literary manner by both Apollonius and the admiral Timosthenes, the aforementioned prodigious writer and reader. One may certainly start from the fact that Timosthenes took part in the expeditions of the Ptolemies. It is this fact, rather than the extant fragments of his *periplous*, that reveals the political dimension of Hellenistic geography. The expanding or expansion-bound state writes its history, to quote Nicolet, "selon un rhythme qui est lié à l'espace géographique".[86] Nicolet's observations about the relation between geography and politics allude to the example of Rome and invite a comparison with the geography of the early Hellenistic poets: "On savait depuis longtemps, l'usage que la poésie, officielle ou non, épique ou élégiaque, peut

[83] It has long been observed that the voyage to the Black Sea resembles a *periplous* with ethnographic interests whereas the cartographic vision predominates in the account of the return voyage; cf. Hunter (1993b) XXIII f. Likewise, Phineus explains the route to Colchis in terms of a *periplous* whereas in Argos' account the return route takes the form of an oral map. At any rate, for their orientation the Argonauts use consistently the hodologic principle, when they have no other information.

[84] Lloyd (1984) 403. The rationalistic tendency is also apparent in the etymologies of geographical names (Delage [1930] 286).

[85] Fränkel (1968) 508 f. n. 109, warns correctly: "Überhaupt können wir nicht wissen wie weit er seine geographische Angaben als realistisch gemeint hat, und wie weit als poetisch und phantastisch".

[86] Nicolet (1988) 17.

faire des noms propres évocateurs, des mythes, des propagandes ou des exploits célébrés: il y a donc une 'géographie' de Virgile, d'Horace ou d'Ovide. Mais en fait presque toute la littérature est susceptible d'une lecture géographique".[87] It suffices here to evoke the numerous geographical allusions, with their political associations, in the poems of Callimachus and Theocritus.[88] An interest in geography is, therefore, common to both poet and ruler. Characteristic of Hellenistic geography is the preference for an encyclopedic "whole-earth literature" which in the traditional form of περίπλους or of περίοδος encompasses the entire globe.[89] A passage in the *Argonautica* seems to point clearly to such an "expansionist" level of meaning. Apollonius mentions a military expedition which had started from Egypt long ago and with which the above-mentioned world map reached Colchis (4.272 ff.).[90] Here tie in recent studies which seek to determine the sociopolitical function of Apollonian geography.

The dissertation of Rubio[91] deals only secondarily with the close parallel between Alexander's expedition and the mythical foreshadowing of Greek colonization in the voyage of the Argo. Ptolemaic attempts at territorial expansion are also discussed rather cursorily. This work adopts a sociological approach and its main interest lies in the narrative structure of the epic which, according to Rubio, suggests ideas of territorial expansion and domination by means of its linear organization.[92] Thus Rubio attributes a special role to the catalogues of geographical names whose monotony is often disparagingly pointed out.[93] Rubio rejects the traditional interpretation of these catalogues as intertextual allusions to the early Greek catalogue poetry and sees in them the expression of a radically altered perception of physical space in the Hellenistic age. Stephens puts the representation of familiar and foreign places in the context of colonization literature[94] whose characteristic narrative modes appear in Apollonius' *Argonautica*: the approach to a foreign coast, its scientific exploration and naming and finally the

[87] Nicolet (1988) 16, cited in part by Romm (1992) 7.
[88] On the geographic catalogues in Callimachus and Theocritus and the possibility of a political interpretation see Weber (1993) 316–8.
[89] On Ps.-Skylax and Simias see Romm (1992) 31 with n. 64. On the, typical of this time, preference for "enzyklopädische Orientierung in den Weiten von Raum und Zeit" see Fränkel (1968) 21. In the *Argonautica* clear spatial representation coalesces with orientation.
[90] Delage (1930) 35 f.; Livrea (1973) 92 f.; Hunter (1989a) 94 ff.
[91] Rubio (1992).
[92] Rubio (1992) 41–52.
[93] Hunter (1993) 5.
[94] Stephens (2000); this study is modelled on Pratt (1992) and Dougherty (1993).

"romantic encounter" of the hero with a foreign girl. Thus, according to Stephens, the cultural situation of Ptolemaic Alexandria is also reflected by the geography of the epic.

As these last examples show, the geography of Apollonius' *Argonautica* still offers room for further readings.

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APOLLONIUS AND VIRGIL

Damien P. Nelis

The history of the reception of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius at Rome has yet to be written. Twenty years ago such an opening sentence would have been interpreted either as the musing of an idle idiot or as a joke, a satiric attack on the writing of pretentious articles on obscure topics of no scholarly interest. There are many, no doubt, who will take it thus still today. But given the development of Apollonian studies over the last twenty-five years it is surely to be hoped that my opening will now be taken seriously by at least a few as one which, while perhaps still sounding vaguely pretentious, refers to a subject of some importance. The minimalist case for the influence exercised by Apollonius Rhodius on Latin literature before Virgil would point to his importance for the understanding of Catullus 64 and to his translation by Varro Atacinus. A more ambitious case would attempt to argue that Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius and Accius were all keen readers and imitators of the *Argonautica* long before Catullus and his generation "discovered" Alexandrian or Hellenistic poetry. In any case, it would have to be agreed that Virgil's *Aeneid* represents the climax of a fascinating and complex story.[1]

Apollonian influence on the *Aeneid* is pervasive and profound. Just as Virgil clearly spent much time reading Homer before beginning to write his own epic,[2] so he also studied the *Argonautica* in great detail at the same time. He surely devoted much time and energy to working out the internal complexities of the structures of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica*, and no doubt of many other works as well. Furthermore, he certainly worked hard at uncovering the ways in which Odyssean narrative structures both resemble and differ from Iliadic patterns,[3] and in discovering the ways in which Apollonius uses both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* throughout the *Argonautica*.[4] Readers

[1] See Nelis (*ARCA* forthcoming).
[2] See Knauer (1964).
[3] See Cairns (1989) ch. 8.
[4] See Knight (1995).

of the *Aeneid* must be constantly aware of Iliadic and Odyssean elements working at every level in the text, from the selection and form of individual words to narrative patterns running over many hundreds of verses. They must be equally alert to Virgil's constant use of Apollonius and to the complex ways in which he reads the *Argonautica* as a complex reworking of Homeric texts. Without denying the obvious importance of a bewildering range of other texts, from Hesiod to the poet's own *Georgics*, it is true to say that appreciation of the interaction between Apollonius and Homer is crucial to the understanding of Virgil's Augustan epic. The *Aeneid* is more than the fruit of a profound meditation on the nature of Homeric epic. It is the result of Virgil's meticulous investigation of the whole tradition of both Homeric and post-Homeric *epos*, and in his view of this epic tradition Virgil saw Apollonius' *Argonautica* occupying a position of absolutely central importance.

The enormous influence of Apollonius on Virgil has often been stated, often taken for granted and almost equally often ignored.[5] Aulus Gellius, Servius and Macrobius all mention him as one of Virgil's models, Ovid and Valerius Flaccus often show their awareness of the connections between the *Aeneid* and the *Argonautica*, and a considerable amount of modern scholarship has been devoted to the topic. Nevertheless, in studies of Virgilian *imitatio* the Hellenistic poet has received much less attention than Homer both in antiquity and in modern times. The many similarities between Dido and Medea have obviously attracted most scholarly attention over the years. Only in relatively recent times has there been a welcome willingness to build on earlier collections, such as those of Rütten and Hügi, and to look for Apollonian influence elsewhere.[6] And as appreciation of the *Argonautica* has reached more sophisticated levels, there has been less reluctance to accept the fact that this much-maligned poem seems to have exercised an enormous influence on Virgil.

[5] There is much of value in de La Ville de Mirmont (1894), Conrardy (1904), Rütten (1912), Bozzi (1936), Leitich (1940), Mehmel (1940), Hügi (1952), Cova (1963), but they are not often cited. See, for a relatively recent formulation, Gransden (1984) 4: "Charming though it is, one cannot take the *Argonautica* of Apollonius seriously as an essential anterior text to the *Aeneid*".

[6] E.g. Briggs (1981); Clausen (1987); Hunter (1993a) ch. 7; Harrison (1995); Williams (1997). Beye is writing a book on the Apollonian in the *Aeneid*; see Beye (1993) chs 6 and 7, and Beye (1999).

Already in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, when Virgil composes highly programmatic passages in which he reflects on the subject matter of epic poetry and on his own position within the traditions of ancient *epos*, the myth of the Argonauts in general and Apollonius' version in particular play an important role. Jason and his companions do not belong to the Golden Age, but their quest predates the war at Troy (*Ecl.* 4.34–6) and is a key event of the heroic age:

Alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

There'll be a second Tiphys then, a second Argo
to carry chosen heroes; there'll even be second wars,
and once more great Achilles will be sent to Troy. (transl. G. Lee)

Such themes are of course more elevated than humble pastoral (*maiora, Ecl.* 4.1). But when the poet comes to contrast poetry about *reges et proelia* (*Ecl.* 6.3) with a *deductum . . . carmen* (*Ecl.* 6.5), Apollonius still comes into the reckoning, and it has long been recognised that the song of Silenus at *Ecl.* 6.31 ff. recalls the song of Orpheus at *Arg.* 1.496 ff. Similarly, in a mid-point proem in which consideration of traditional epic themes and the desire to write in a new way are confronted, Virgil looks back to Hellenistic narrative poetry and again refers to terrain covered by Apollonius (*G.* 3.1–9):[7]

Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei.
cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
omnia iam vulgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum
aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?
cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos
Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,
acer equis? temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.

You too, great Pales, we will sing, and you
famed keeper of flocks beside Amphrysus' stream
and, Pan's Arcadian woods and rivers, you.
Those other themes that might have served to charm
the idle mind are all so hackneyed now.

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[7] Cf. already *G.* 1.14 f. and *Arg.* 2.500–27. On allusion to Apollonius in the *Georgics* see, e.g., Briggs (1981) 957 f.; Hunter (1989a); Thomas (1992) 50 n. 41, 61; Clare (1995).

Who has not harped upon the youthful Hylas,
Latona's Delos or Hippodameia
and Pelops, charioteer conspicuous
for his ivory shoulder? I must find a way
of my own to soar above the common ground
and 'fly victorious on the lips of men'. (transl. L.P. Wilkinson)

It should come as no surprise, therefore, when Virgil's most explicit declaration of his engagement with Apollonius comes in the *Aeneid*'s mid-point proem (7.37–45):

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae.
tu vatem, tu, diva, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moveo.

Come now, Erato, and I shall tell of the kings of ancient Latium, of its history, of the state of this land when first the army of strangers beached their ships on the shores of Ausonia. I shall recall too, the cause of the first battle—come, goddess, come and instruct your prophet. I shall speak of wars and of kings driven into the ways of death by their pride of spirit, of a band of fighting men from Etruria and the whole land of Hesperia under arms. For me this is the birth of a higher order of things. This is a greater work I now set in motion. (transl. D. West)

These lines do more than recall the attention paid to generic conventions and forms of *epos* in *Eclogue* 4 (cf. *maior . . . maius* at *Aen.* 7.44 f. and *maius* at *Ecl.* 4.1; *nascitur ordo* at 7.44 and 4.5). It has long been recognised that Virgil here alludes to the mid-point proem of the *Argonautica* (3.1–5: εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν . . . ἀνῆπται). This striking allusion does more than signal the central importance of the Apollonian model at this particular point in Virgil's epic. It is also crucial to the understanding of the ways in which the influence of both Homer and Apollonius operates throughout the *Aeneid*, and, in fact, in Virgil's whole oeuvre.[8] But before looking at Virgil's use of Apollonius here it will be necessary to sketch in some relevant background material by looking briefly at Apollonius' use of Homer.

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[8] The following paragraphs summarise material presented in much greater detail in Nelis (*ARCA* forthcoming).

There are three main Odyssean narrative structures at work in the *Argonautica*: (a) The voyage of the Argonauts as a whole is, like that of Odysseus, a *nostos*. Seen in these terms, the arrival back at Pagasai at the end of the poem corresponds to Odysseus' safe return to Ithaca. (b) The voyage from Pagasai to Colchis is modelled on Odysseus' wanderings in various ways, drawing much material from *Odyssey* 9–12. Within this structure, Colchis is modelled primarily on Phaeacian Scheria, while at the same time corresponding to Ithaca as the destination reached after a long and dangerous voyage at the middle of the poem, in *Argonautica* 3 and *Odyssey* 13. c) The voyage from Colchis back to Pagasai in *Argonautica* 4 is another reworking of the *Odyssey*, drawing particularly on book 12 (Kalypso, the Sirens, Skylla and Charybdis etc. all appear in both). Here again, Pagasai is the Argonauts' Ithaca, but more importantly, Jason, like Odysseus, lands, during his journey home, in Phaeacia, and Apollonius' Phaeacian episode owes a great deal to material drawn from the Homeric Phaeacian narrative of *Odyssey* 6–12. Many other Odyssean narrative patterns are employed by Apollonius, but these three super-structures provide the broad framework into which most of them fit, while at the same time accounting for Apollonius' use of the *Iliad*. The greatest concentration of Iliadic material comes in *Argonautica* 3. This fact should not cause any surprise; this is after all the only book of the poem in which there is no voyaging, and that which narrates Jason's *aristeia*, both in his encounter with Medea and when he goes to face the earthborn men and the bulls. What we have here is in fact in many ways a rewriting of the *Iliad* in erotic mode. So while books 1, 2 and 4 are Odyssean, book 3, even while Colchis corresponds to both Ithaca and Phaeacia, is mainly Iliadic. Apollonius has written an epic in which the interaction with Homer ranges from detailed verbal allusion to large-scale narrative structures combining both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and underpinning the whole narrative. Remembering that Virgil's *Aeneid* is usually seen as an *Odyssey* followed by an *Iliad* beginning unexpectedly with the invocation of Erato, it now remains to elucidate Virgil's reaction to the imitation of Homeric narrative structures in the *Argonautica*.

When the Trojans enter the Tiber near the middle of their epic (*Aen.* 7.25–36) they imitate the Argonauts who, right in the middle of their epic, enter the River Phasis at the end of a long voyage. Behind both texts appears Odysseus' arrival on Ithaca in *Odyssey* 13, near the middle of that epic. Virgil's awareness of this link between

Argonautica 3 and *Odyssey* 13 enables his Aeneas to resemble both Odysseus and Jason, and means that Italy can *be* both Ithaca and Colchis. Coming immediately after the description of the Trojans' arrival, the allusion to the Apollonian Erato at *Aen.* 7.37 helps the reader to appreciate that the Trojan journey from Troy to Italy in *Aeneid* 1.1–7.36 corresponds to the Argonautic voyage from Greece to Colchis in *Argonautica* 1–2, as well as to Apollonius' model, the wanderings of Odysseus in the first half of the *Odyssey*. It also signals the fact that Italy will in some sense be like Colchis. And the reader who is aware of the Iliadic nature of much of *Argonautica* 3 will soon realise that Virgil is here beginning a new stage of his epic, one which will recall both the Trojan war and the story of Jason and Medea. Taking first things first, it will be useful to sketch some of the numerous ways in which the apparently very Odyssean journey of Aeneas in the first half of the *Aeneid* simultaneously resembles Jason's voyage in the first half of the *Argonautica*. The Argonauts' voyage is itself of course already a reworking of the wanderings of Odysseus, as we have seen, and is consistently read as such by Virgil, as his use of both models makes clear.

When a weeping Aeneas leaves his Trojan homeland behind to set out in search of a new city (*Aen.* 3.10), he is quite unlike the decisive Odysseus of *Odyssey* 9.39 f. Instead, he closely resembles the weeping Jason who leaves his home behind to set off to find the Golden Fleece (*Arg.* 1.534 f.). At the end of a long journey, in the course of which they leave place-names behind to mark their passage (cf. *Aen.* 3.18 and *Arg.* 1.591) and sail through Thracian waters (cf. *Aen.* 3.14 and *Arg.* 1.614, 637), encounter helpful prophets (cf. Helenus and Phineus) and fearsome Harpies, "see" Apollo (cf. *Aen.* 3.275, *et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo*, and *Arg.* 2.674–82) and rescue stranded sailors (cf. Achaemenides and the sons of Phrixos), Aeneas arrives in Libyan Carthage, where he meets Dido, Jason in Colchian Aia, where he meets Medea. After sailing away from Colchis, Jason sails back towards home and on his way sails southward along the western coast of Italy, where he meets Kirke and passes the Sirens before landing, after a short stay at Phaeacian Drepane, in Libya. Finally, after many trials of almost Heraclean proportions, he arrives back home at Pagasai. When Aeneas departs from Libya he sails, after a short stay at Sicilian Drepanum, northward along the western coast of Italy, passing the Sirens and Kirke along the way.

He lands in Latium and, following in Herakles' footsteps,[9] comes to the site on which Rome will be founded. The Trojan sails from Troy and home via Carthage and Dido back to his *true* homeland (*antiquam exquirite matrem*, *Aen.* 3.96), just as the Greek sails from Pagasai via Aia and Medea back home to Pagasai.

It is clear from this structural pattern of imitation that Virgil has modelled the first half of the *Aeneid* up to 7.36, the arrival in the Tiber, on *Argonautica* 1–4 as a whole. The *nostos*, or return home, of Aeneas corresponds to the *nostos* of Jason, as well as to that of Odysseus.[10] Ithaca, Pagasai and Latium are all connected. Within this structure lies another, one in which a whole *Argonautica* is compressed into *Aeneid* 3, the book of Odyssean wandering *par excellence*, from Aeneas' tearful departure at the start of the book to what he calls his worst and final trial at its close, *hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum* (3.714). The similarity with Jason's weeping at Pagasai having already been noted, compare the end of his journey, where the narrator declares, . . . κλυτὰ πείραθ' ἱκάνω/ὑμετέρων καμάτων . . . (*Arg.* 4.1775–7). Seen in these terms, Carthage becomes a potential home, like Pagasai, like Ithaca. So, the whole voyage of the Argonauts is reworked both in a single book of the *Aeneid* and in the first half of the epic as a whole up to 7.36. And when the reader moves on to 7.37 yet another structural pattern begins to become visible.

When the Argonauts sail up the Phasis, they are landing in a territory in which they will have to overcome terrible dangers before finding the Golden Fleece. When the Trojans enter the Tiber, they are arriving in a land in which they must build a city whose founding will lead on eventually (*Aen.* 1.263–77) to the foundation of Rome. Within the *Aeneid*, the closest Aeneas will get to Rome is in book 8, first when he wanders with Evander through the site on which the city will be founded, and then when he stares at images of the city depicted on the shield made for him by Vulcan.[11] When he receives this golden shield, Virgil's description of his arms at 8.622 f. (*qualis cum caerula nubes / solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget*) alludes directly to the description of the Golden Fleece at *Arg.* 4.125, νεφέλῃ . . .

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[9] On Hercules in Apollonius and Virgil see Feeney (1986).
[10] See Knight (1995) 30.
[11] On Rome in book 8 see Hardie (1986) ch. 8. See also Novara (1988).

ἀκτίνεσσιν. The shield's climactic depiction of Actium and Augustan triumph represents the *telos* of Aeneas' mission, just as the Fleece is the goal of Jason's quest.

Once it is realised that events in Italy in the second half of the *Aeneid* are to be compared with those in Colchis in *Argonautica* 3–4, it becomes obvious that in its overall structure Virgil's epic may justly be described as an *Argonautica.* Put simply, the voyage to the Tiber in *Aeneid* 1.1–7.36 corresponds to the voyage to the Phasis in *Argonautica* 1–2, and the second half of the epic, *Aeneid* 7.37[12] (Erato)–12.952, corresponds to *Argonautica* 3.1 (Erato)–4.1781. The structure of the *Aeneid* has of course attracted a vast amount of scholarly attention, but consideration of this possible Argonautic division of the epic raises some questions which may still be worth thinking about. The first point to make is that it is an accepted fact that when thought of as a poem of two halves the *Aeneid* is usually seen as an *Odyssey* followed by an *Iliad.* And secondly, it must be admitted that if it is based on a supposed parallel between Italy and Colchis the apparently straightforward division of the *Aeneid* into two Argonautic halves (*Aen.* 1.1–7.36 = *Arg.* 1 and 2, *Aen.* 7.37–12.952 = *Arg.* 3 and 4) doesn't quite fit.

The obvious objection to the proposition that the second half of the *Aeneid,* or more precisely from 7.37 to the end, corresponds to *Argonautica* 3–4, and that events in Italy correspond to those in Colchis, is that by *Arg.* 4.210 f. Jason and Medea have left Colchis behind and are sailing back to Greece. There is of course no such return voyage from Italy in the *Aeneid.* When Aeneas reaches Latium he has reached his true homeland (again, *antiquam exquirite matrem, Aen.* 3.96). The events following his arrival undeniably enact simultaneously a replay of the *Iliad* and rework Odysseus' adventures on Ithaca in the second half of the *Odyssey.* But, as we have already seen, the presence of imitation of Homer must not prevent us from seeing Apollonian influence. Despite the Iliadic and Odyssean presences, it remains true that the reader who is aware of the Apollonian structural pattern linking the voyage of Aeneas to that of Jason throughout *Aeneid* 1.1–7.36 will interpret the allusion to Apollonius' Erato at 7.37 as a signal that the *Argonautica* will continue to be a crucial model in the second half of the epic as well. Furthermore, the reader

[12] On the importance of the number 37 see Nelis (*REA* forthcoming).

who is aware that book 3 is effectively Apollonius' *Iliad* will not be surprised to see Virgil's Iliadic war narrative being presided over by Erato. And when book 7 unfolds the story in such a way as to recall events in both Troy and Colchis, the hint that Homer and Apollonius will continue to be as important in the second half of the epic as they were in the first seems to be confirmed. It is eventually confirmed in a number of different ways, but not in the way initially expected, i.e. that the whole of the second half of the epic from 7.37 to the end of book 12 = *Argonautica* 3–4. There are in fact two structural patterns linking the second half of the *Aeneid* to the *Argonautica*. Even as both structures unfold, the whole of the second half of the poem is still Virgil's *Iliad*, but this link is inseparable from the fact that *Argonautica* 3 is, in Virgil's mind, Apollonius' *Iliad*.

(1) *Aen.* 7.37–8.731 = *Arg.* 3.1–4.182: the whole narrative, from the invocation of Erato to the moment when Aeneas shoulders the shield at the end of book 8, corresponds to Apollonius' Colchian narrative, from his invocation of Erato to Jason's taking the Fleece.

(2) *Aen.* 7.37–12.952 = *Arg.* 3.1–1407: from the invocation of Erato to Aeneas' defeat of Turnus, Virgil's narrative corresponds to the whole of the third book of the *Argonautica*, which begins with Erato and ends with Jason's defeat of the Earthborn men and fire-breathing bulls.

Many similarities are common to both patterns and may be outlined as follows. As we have already seen, the description of the arrrival of the Trojans in Italy equates the Tiber with the Phasis and Latium with Colchis. Latinus, therefore, corresponds to Aietes as the local king whom the arriving hero must confront, and Lavinia corresponds to Medea, as the king's daughter. Following Aeneas' arrival in Italy, Juno and Allecto intervene in order to harm him as best they can; as soon as the Argonauts get to Colchis, Hera and Eros intervene to protect Jason. Allecto's role thus corresponds to but in fact inverts that of Eros: she sows the seeds of discord and strife by setting upon Amata, Turnus and Ascanius, whereas he inflicts love on Medea.[13] Allecto's intervention culminates in an unleashing of passions, referred to by Virgil as *amor ferri* (7.461) and *Martis amore* (7.550), and the outbreak of a war which inverts the

[13] On Concord and Discord, Love and Strife see Cairns (1989) ch. 4, Nelis (*ARCA* forthcoming); (2000).

onset of love (both Ἔρως and ἔρως) on Medea. This war stands between Aeneas and the successful founding of his city in a way which contrasts with the fact that Medea's love is, in the short term at least, a source of protection for Jason. It is only with Medea's help that Jason has any chance of overcoming the obstacles standing between him and the winning of the Golden Fleece, i.e. the earthborn men and fire-breathing bulls. In fact, therefore, the close links between *Aeneid* 7 and *Argonautica* 3 suggest that Turnus and his forces correspond to the enemies Jason must defeat on the field of Ares. And so Jason's victory in winning the Fleece becomes in the *Aeneid* the ultimate symbol of the success of Aeneas' labours, the scenes of Augustan triumph at Actium and in Rome as depicted on the shield Aeneas shoulders at 8.731. And so also the defeat of Turnus, which ultimately makes Augustan triumph possible, is Virgil's version of Jason's victory over Aietes' earthborn men and fiery bulls.

It will be clear from the above that when working with Apollonian narrative structures on a large scale Virgil's techniques of imitation are exactly the same as those dissected by Knauer in his study of Virgil and Homer. To take one example, Knauer shows in great detail how much of the narrative of *Odyssey* 5–8, Homer's account of Odysseus' departure from Ogygia, the storm raised by Poseidon and the hero's arrival on Phaeacian Scheria and his reception by Alkinoos, is reworked in *Aeneid* 1, where Aeneas leaves Sicily, is hit by a storm raised by Juno and lands in Libya before being welcomed into Carthage by Dido. In *Aeneid* 1 Virgilian Carthage therefore *is* Homeric Phaeacia in the same way as in *Aeneid* 7 Latium *is* Apollonian Colchis. Throughout book 1, over several hundred verses, close similarity of action allied to detailed verbal allusion help keep the Odyssean text in the mind of the reader, and Knauer demonstrates how this kind of imitation is a fundamental element of Virgil's epic technique. But Virgil does not imitate Homer directly, as we have seen, but via the Homeric intertext in the *Argonautica.* A study of some scenes in *Aeneid* 1 will illustrate that it was from his study of Apollonian techniques of imitation that Virgil learnt a very great deal about how to rework Homeric models, and how to write a post-Homeric, and post-Callimachean, epic.

At first sight, Juno's intervention at *Aeneid* 1.36 and the subsequent arrival in Africa looks like a close and direct imitation of the storm in *Odyssey* 5 leading to Odysseus' arrival in Phaeacia, with the substitution of Juno for Poseidon and the addition of Aiolos, a character

who plays no role in book 5 but appears later at *Odyssey* 10.1 ff. But Apollonius had imitated these same Homeric texts before Virgil and combined them in *Argonautica* 4. There, in an inversion of the Homeric storm, Hera sends Thetis to Aiolos to ask him to calm his winds in order to afford safe passage for the Argonauts to, once again, Phaeacia. Virgil's storm comes from *Odyssey* 5, his characters Juno (= Hera) and Aiolos from *Argonautica* 4. Virgil imitates both Homer and Apollonius simultaneously, fully aware of Apollonius' imitation of Homer. All three texts consistently run in parallel in this way. Another example from *Aeneid* 1: the banquet offered to the Trojans by Dido is clearly modelled on the entertainment of Odysseus in Alkinoos' palace in *Odyssey* 7–8. But Apollonius reworks this same Homeric model in *Argonautica* 3 when Jason arrives in Colchis and dines in Aietes' palace.[14] It is during the preparations for this banquet that Eros enters Aietes' palace to shoot his arrow into Medea's heart. In *Aeneid* 1, Cupid, disguised as Ascanius, comes to Dido's banquet to inflict love on her. Thus Aeneas' reception in Carthage recalls both that of Odysseus in Phaeacia and that of Jason in Colchis. Dido *is* Alkinoos, but she *is* also Aietes. A final example: during the banquet in Carthage the bard Iopas entertains the assembled Tyrians and Trojans. His role corresponds to that of Demodokos who, in *Odyssey* 8, sings three songs for Odysseus and his Phaeacian hosts. Iopas' cosmological subject matter may even be seen as revealing the true meaning of Demodokos' song about Ares and Aphrodite, a puzzling tale which was allegorized as a version of Empedoclean physics, with Ares representing cosmic Strife (νεῖκος), Aphrodite cosmic Love (φιλία). But long before Virgil came to this Homeric text it had already been used by Apollonius who, at *Argonautica* 1.496, has Orpheus sing of Empedoclean cosmology for the Argonauts.[15] Virgil is not lifting the veil of the Homeric allegory himself; he is showing his awareness of Apollonius' revelation of the allegorical import of Demodokos' song.

The technique whereby an imitative poet refers simultaneously to a source text and to the model, or models, of that source text has become known in recent years as "window reference" (the poet "looks through" text A to text B, which is A's model) and "two-tier allusion".

[14] See Knight (1995) 226–8.
[15] See Nelis (1992).

Virgil employs the technique throughout the *Aeneid* to refer to both Homer and Apollonius Rhodius. His procedure is based on detailed knowledge of Apollonius' use of Homer throughout the *Argonautica*. The fact that this process of "double allusion" runs throughout the whole of the *Aeneid* is remarkable enough, but the scale of the process is perhaps not as amazing as its consistently detailed complexity. Space permits only a brief study of one section of narrative, again chosen from *Aeneid* 1, but a reading of one portion of text should suffice to illustrate Virgil's practice throughout.

The landing of the Trojans in Libya after their escape from the storm caused by Juno provides the most detailed account of an arrival scene in the *Aeneid*. Virgil imitates the description of the harbour of Phorkys on Ithaca (*Od.* 13.96–112) and of the harbour in the land of the Laistrygonians (*Od.* 10.87–94),[16] but the dominant model in terms of the narrative structure linking the opening scenes of the *Aeneid* to *Odyssey* 5 is the arrival of Odysseus on Phaeacian Scheria. There, the shipwrecked Odysseus enters the waters of a calm river and finally makes dry land (*Od.* 5.438–63). In Odyssean terms, Aeneas on the Libyan shore may be about to encounter either the extreme civilization of the Phaeacians or the barbarism of the Laistrygonians. Taking his cue from Homer, Apollonius sets up the Argonauts' arrival in Colchis as the beginning of a confrontation between barbarism and civilization. He imitates *Odyssey* 5 at the end of *Argonautica* 2, when Jason's ship enters the calm waters of the River Phasis. The river gives way before the ship as it enters the stream (ῥόον, *Arg.* 2.1265) much as the Phaeacian river stops its flow (ῥόον) and creates a calm which allows Odysseus to enter its waters safely (*Od.* 5.451–3). Night follows soon after each arrival (*Od.* 5.466, *Arg.* 2.1284). In each case also the new arrivals pass the night in a sheltered spot. Odysseus wonders whether he should enter the δάσκιον ὕλην (*Od.* 5.470, the only time this adjective appears in the poem; cf. *Il.* 15.273, its single appearance in that poem also) in search of shelter, and finally decides to do so. The Argonauts come to a halt in a δάσκιον ἕλος (*Arg.* 2.1283, the only occurrence of the adjective in the poem). Thus Odysseus arrives on Phaeacian Scheria and Jason lands in Colchis. The former is naked, alone and barely manages to swim to safety, the latter sails in his ship into the calm waters of the river

[16] See Knauer (1964) 148–50; 244; 373 f.

at the place which is the decisive turning point in his quest to find the Golden Fleece.

The weary Trojans turn towards the nearest land after the calming of the storm and arrive on the coast of Libya (*Aen.* 1.159–69):

est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur
in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis
desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.
fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum;
intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus. hic fessas non vincula navis
ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.

There is a place where a harbour is formed by an island blocking the mouth of a long sound. As the waves come in from the open sea and break on the sides of this island, they are divided into the deep inlets of the bay. Rock cliffs are everywhere. A great pinnacle threatens the sky on either side and beneath all this the broad water lies still and safe. At the end of the bay there rises a backcloth of shimmering trees, a dark wood with quivering shadows, looming over the water, and there, at the foot of this scene, is a cave of hanging rocks, a home for the nymphs, with fresh spring water inside it and seats in the virgin rock. Here there is no need of chains to moor the weary ships, or of anchors with hooked teeth to hold them fast. (transl. D. West)

The Homeric anchorages, which have rightly been seen as models for Virgil here, describe calm, sheltered harbours, but without the added detail of a kind of fjord jutting deep into the land.[17] In fact, when describing this landing Virgil has in mind Apollonius' description of the Argonauts sailing into the River Phasis at the end of *Argonautica* 2.[18] Virgil describes the landscape on each side of the water, as does Apollonius (cf. *hinc atque hinc*, 1.162 and ἔχον δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρῶν . . . ἔνθεν δ' . . ., *Arg.* 2.1266–8) and in each case there are cliffs (1.162 f. and *Arg.* 2.1267) and a grove (1.165 and *Arg.* 2.1268). Virgil also refers here to *Od.* 13.97 and 10.87–90 where

[17] Knauer (1964) 373 cites no Homeric source for this feature. Cf. also *Arg.* 1.936–41.

[18] Cf. also *Arg.* 1.936–54 and the arrival of Argo in the harbour of the Doliones; see Rütten (1912) 59–62; Knauer (1964) 244 n. 2. Note that this episode too culminates in the suicide of a woman, Kleite (*Arg.* 1.1063–5).

the water is enclosed by two steep promontories, and Virgil follows Homer rather than Apollonius in having rocks on each side, but there is no Homeric counterpart for the mention of the *nemus* which corresponds to the Apollonian grove (ἄλση, *Arg.* 2.1268). The Trojans come to a halt in a shady, sheltered spot (*Aen.* 1.165 f.) just as the Argonauts anchor in a δάσκιον ἕλος (*Arg.* 2.1283). The mention of a cave by Virgil (*Aen.* 1.166) refers in turn to the cave at *Od.* 13.102–4. Overall, although there are many Homeric details, Aeneas sailing in his ship into the fjord resembles Jason entering the Phasis more closely than he does Odysseus swimming to safety. Unlike Odysseus in the harbour of Phorkys, Aeneas has not arrived at his true destination, and the apparently peaceful calm of this refuge barely disguises the atmosphere of menace associated with memories of the harbours on the lands of the Kyklopes and Laistrygonians in *Odyssey* 9 and 10. Exactly the same is true of the air of menace surrounding the Argonauts' arrival at the Phasis. Like Jason, Aeneas has arrived in a place where he will receive help from a woman, fall in love and yet face great danger. The Apollonian reference prepares for the correspondence between Dido and Medea, but it equally casts Dido as ruler of Carthage in a role parallel to that of the tyrant Aietes.

Turning the attention away from the Trojans on the Libyan shore in the aftermath of the storm (*Aen.* 1.208–22), Virgil moves the action to the divine level. Venus complains to Jupiter about the sad fate of Aeneas. Jupiter responds by assuring her of the future greatness of her son's descendants. As part of this great plan Mercury is sent to ensure that the Carthaginians grant the Trojans a peaceful reception in their city. Dido is here mentioned for the first time in the poem as *fati nescia* (1.299). She in particular is influenced by the divine messenger: *in primis regina quietum/accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam* (1.303f.). Virgil here refers to Olympus scenes from both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[19] Naevius, similarly imitating Homeric Olympus scenes, is also influential;[20] Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.2.31) records that in the first book of the *Bellum Punicum* Venus complains to Jupiter when the Trojans are hit by a storm and that he consoles her with hope for the future.[21] This meeting between the deities took place,

[19] Knauer (1964) 374.
[20] See Feeney (1991) 109–13.
[21] See also Servius on 1.198, *totus hic locus de Naevio Belli Punici libro translatus est.*

however, according to Macrobius *Troianis tempestate laborantibus*. Virgil's models for the placing of the Olympus scene after the storm and arrival are *Od.* 6.1–47[22] and Apollonius' imitation of this Homeric passage at *Arg.* 3.7–166. In these passages Homer's Athena intervenes by visiting Nausikaa in a dream in order to provide help for Odysseus and Apollonius' Hera and Athena, wanting to help and protect Jason, meet and go together to seek the help of Aphrodite. Their visit results in the sending of Eros down to Aia. In Virgil, Venus meets Jupiter and he sends Mercury to Carthage.[23] Both Virgil and Apollonius, unlike Homer, describe a meeting of deities on Olympus resulting in the sending of a messenger to earth. Just as Eros flies ἀν' αἰθέρα πολλόν (*Arg.* 3.166) so Mercury flies *per aëra magnum* (*Aen.* 1.300).[24] Eros inflicts Medea with love for Jason. Virgil omits the amatory motif, leaving the outbreak of Dido's love for later, when both Aeneas and Cupid will be sent to Dido by Venus, but foreshadows and prepares for her passion by having Mercury arrange for the queen to be well-disposed and welcoming towards the Trojans from the very beginning. Comparable too is the way in which Hera prepares the ground in advance by retaining Medea at home (*Arg.* 3.250) in order to facilitate the encounter with Jason. The imitation of Apollonius here thus links Dido at the very first mention of her name in the *Aeneid* with Medea. Virgil here begins to describe a gradual build-up of pressure on Dido throughout the first book in a variation on the immediate impact of Eros on Medea in Apollonius' account. In order to achieve this slow increase in tension, however, he distributes the same Apollonian material in a most unified and coherent pattern running through *Aeneid* 1 from this point onwards.

The two-tier imitation of the divine interventions in *Odyssey* 6 and *Argonautica* 3 does not exhaust Virgil's reference to Homer and Apollonius in this section of the narrative. Jupiter's sending of Mercury also draws upon the visit of Hermes to Kalypso, on the order of Zeus at *Od.* 5.29–42.[25] Once again, however, Apollonius is an intermediate

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[22] Knauer (1964) 172.

[23] De la Ville de Mirmont (1894) 228 compares the concern of Venus for Aeneas with that of Hera for Jason.

[24] See Nelis (1990) 143 n. 13. This precise verbal reference shows that Virgil read αἰθέρα in his text of Apollonius here and not the αἰθέρι defended by Vian and Delage (^{2}1995) 152 on 3.166.

[25] See Knauer (1964) 210 n. 1; 374.

source. The descent of Eros to Aietes' palace is itself modelled on that of Hermes to Kalypso's home at *Od.* 5.43–54. (Cf. *Arg.* 3.156 f. and *Od.* 5.44–7).[26] Thus Virgil looks through the description of Eros back to Hermes.[27] Paradoxically, despite the identification between Mercury and Hermes, and also Jupiter and Zeus, the broader narrative context shows Eros to be Virgil's primary model. The characters named by Virgil may recall their Homeric counterparts, but their actions and motivations link them closely to Apollonian figures. Venus, Jupiter and Mercury in preparing Aeneas' safe entry into Carthage correspond to Hera, Athena, Aphrodite and Eros who provide help for Jason in Colchian Aia. And there is yet another strand to Virgil's use of Apollonius here.

At *Arg.* 3.584–8 Aietes explains how he was influenced by Zeus' sending of Hermes into welcoming Phrixos to Colchis and states that without this divine intervention he would not have received the stranger. The roles played by Jupiter, Mercury, Aeneas and Dido in Virgil correspond exactly to those of Zeus, Hermes, Phrixos and Aietes in this passage of Apollonius.[28] In fact, Virgil is here fusing two closely linked Apollonian incidents. When reading Aietes' words the reader of *Argonautica* 3 must recall the sending of Eros in order to engineer Jason's safety by having Medea fall in love with him. Eros' effect on Medea is comparable with that of Hermes on Aietes. This link is strengthened by the fact that the descent of Eros is itself modelled on the sending of none other than Hermes in *Odyssey* 5, as shown above. The recall of the earlier passage involving Eros in *Argonautica* 3 underlines Aietes' ignorance of the will of the gods when faced with the arrival of the Argonauts in his palace. Just as he fails to understand the oracle of his father warning him to beware of the possibility of treachery within his family (*Arg.* 3.595–605), unaware that the real danger comes from Medea and not the sons of Phrixos, so he thinks back to the sending of Hermes, determined not to be influenced a second time into welcoming strangers, ignorant of the fact that a highly comparable divine mission has already prepared the way for the success of the new strangers whom he wants to destroy. Virgil was clearly aware of these links between Eros and

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26 For the link between Hermes' goal, Kalypso's home, and Eros' destination, Aietes' palace, see Knight (1995) 222.

27 See Otis (1964) 82.

28 See De la Ville de Mirmont (1894) 249; Moorton (1989).

Hermes in *Argonautica* 3, and so the mission of Mercury recalls both of them.

At *Aen.* 1.494 the Virgilian *ecphrasis* of the paintings in the temple is interrupted by Dido's brilliant appearance, at which point she is seen by Aeneas for the first time. The reader of the *Aeneid* first hears Dido's name when Jupiter sends Mercury to visit her city in order to ensure a peaceful reception for the newly-arrived Trojans (*Aen.* 1.297–304). Fuller information about this remarkable woman and her character and history is provided soon after in Venus' speech to Aeneas (*Aen.* 1.335–68), before she in turn sends her son to Dido's city (1.389; 401). Finally, the Queen makes her spectacular entry into the action of the poem (*Aen.* 1.494–506):

> *Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,*
> *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,*
> *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,*
> *incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.*
> *qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi*
> *exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae*
> *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram*
> *fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis*
> *(Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus):*
> *talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat*
> *per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.*
> *tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,*
> *saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.*

> While Trojan Aeneas stood gazing, rooted to the spot and lost in amazement at what he saw, queen Dido in all her beauty arrived at the temple with a great crowd of warriors around her. She was like Diana leading the dance on the banks of the Eurotas or along the ridges of Mount Cynthus with a thousand mountain nymphs thronging behind her on either side. She carries her quiver on her shoulder, and as she walks, she is the tallest of all the goddesses. Her mother Latona does not speak, but a great joy stirs her heart at the sight of her. Dido was like Diana, and like Diana she bore herself joyfully among her people, urging on their work for the kingdom that was to be. Then she sat on her high throne under the coffered roof, in the middle of the temple before the doors of the shrine of the goddess. (transl. D. West)

Virgil has chosen to illustrate this important moment by a simile with both Homeric and Apollonian antecedents.[29] Once again, events

[29] On the history of the discussion of this famous passage see Glei (1990).

in Carthage recall both Phaeacia and Colchis. While playing with her companions on the shore where she will meet Odysseus for the first time Nausikaa is compared to Artemis (*Od.* 6.102–8). Apollonius imitates this comparison, as the ancient *scholia* on *Arg.* 3.876 note,[30] in his description of Medea on her way to the temple of Hekate to meet Jason. The Colchian princess accompanied by her servants is also compared to Artemis accompanied by her nymphs. Apollonius' imitation of Homer is clear and precise, his variations on the model carefully wrought and highly significant. The Odyssean simile presents the outstanding beauty of Nausikaa as she plays with her companions. The comparison with Artemis also hints at the purity of the young girl[31] and introduces a discreetly erotic touch by introducing the virgin huntress at the point when Nausikaa, with marriage on her mind thanks to Athena's intervention (*Od.* 6.25–40), is about to meet the male stranger. Medea too is a young virgin, on her way to meet a stranger who has just arrived in her country. Unlike Nausikaa, however, she has already seen this man and is deeply in love with him. The discreet evocation of the feelings of the Phaeacian princess in *Odyssey* 6 and 8 has given way to a full-scale description of Medea's tormented passion. When seen in this light, the comparison to Artemis becomes deeply problematic. The point of the comparison is no longer the beauty of the girl. Apollonius uses the Artemis simile to illustrate the movement of Medea through the city towards the temple of Hekate, a procession which has a fearful effect on the passers-by (*Arg.* 3.885 f.). The rural joy of the Odyssean model has been replaced by a totally different atmosphere of urban seriousness in the *Argonautica.*

In his Dido-Diana simile Virgil refers to both models. It is the imitation of the Homeric simile which has received most attention. In fact, the dominant model is the Apollonian Medea-Artemis simile.[32] The criticisms formulated by Probus,[33] and followed by many, concerning Virgil's feeble handling of the Nausikaa-Artemis simile highlight the dangers of failing to consider the role of Apollonius as both imitator of Homer and model of Virgil. The ancient critic pointed

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[30] More recently, see Knight (1995) 236 f.

[31] See Hainsworth (1988) on *Od.* 6.109.

[32] See Conrardy (1904) 29–31; Briggs (1981) 964–5; Clausen (1987) 18–21; Glei (1990) 337–9.

[33] Aulus Gellius, *N.A.* 9.9.14; see Glei (1990) 323–30.

out the incongruity of comparing Dido *in urbe media* to Diana, while praising the comparison, *recte atque commode*, of Nausikaa playing *in locis solis* to Artemis who is *in iugis montium*. Virgil, however, is fully aware of the Apollonian variation on Homer and the urban setting of the Dido simile corresponds to the description of Medea travelling through the streets of the city of Aia in the *Argonautica*. Whereas Nausikaa plays on the shore, Dido and Medea make their way through the city toward a temple (*Aen.* 1.496; *Arg.* 3.888), of Juno and Hekate respectively. It is in that temple that Jason and Medea meet and talk together for the first time (*Arg.* 3.956 ff.), just as Aeneas and Dido first meet in the temple of Juno (1.586–630). Homeric detail is certainly present, *pharetra* (*Aen.* 1.500) referring to ἰοχέαιρα (*Od.* 6.102) and the mention of Latona (1.502) clearly recalling Leto at *Od.* 6.106. Similarly, Virgil follows Homer in using the simile to illustrate female beauty (*pulcherrima*, 1.496) and happiness (*laeta*, 1.503), recalling the beauty and joy described by Homer. For some further details Virgil draws on both sources. The use of Artemis-Diana accompanied by her nymphs as the basis of the comparison is common to all three poets. In each case the poet uses the comparison with the goddess to illustrate the imposing figure of the woman. Homer locates the description of Artemis and her nymphs near two mountains, Taygetos and Erymanthos (*Od.* 6.103). Apollonius locates his description of the same characters by two rivers, Parthenios and Amnisos (*Arg.* 3.876 f.). Virgil places Diana and her nymphs nearby one river, Eurotas, and one mountain, Cynthus (1.498). Overall, however, Apollonian detail predominates. The Eurotas and Mount Cynthus suggest cult centres of the goddess as do Apollonius' Parthenios and Amnisos.[34] This choice of place names immediately links the Virgilian simile to the narrative in which it is set. Dido is on her way to the temple of Juno just as Diana is associated with places of cult. For this correspondence between simile and narrative Virgil has Apollonius as model. Just as Medea is on her way to the temple of Hekate so Artemis is moving towards a smoking hecatomb (*Arg.* 3.880). The opening of Virgil's simile also refers to Apollonius in a different way. The word order of lines 497 f., *qualis* + two place-names + *Diana*, corresponds to οἵη δέ + two place-names + Letois at *Arg.* 3.876–8. Virgil's nymphs gather from different places (*hinc atque hinc*, 1.500)

[34] See Clausen (1987) 20 f.; Hunter (1989a) 194 f.

to follow the goddess (*secutae*, 1.499), as do those of Apollonius (αἱ μέν . . . αἱ δέ and ἕπονται, *Arg.* 3.881 f.), and the word *Oreades* (1.500) both by its sound and metrical position refers to (Νύμφαι) ἀμορβάδες (*Arg.* 3.881).[35] Beyond this verbal detail, the comparison between Diana followed by her nymphs and Dido moving through the city towards the temple of Juno followed by her retinue, corresponds closely to the situation in the third book of the *Argonautica*. The urban setting and the description of Queen Dido *instans operi regnisque futuris* (1.504) suggest the figure of Medea, imposing royal princess moving through the city, rather more strongly than they bring to mind playful Nausikaa on the shore. In addition, Medea, caught tragically between Aphrodite and Artemis, prefigures Dido, compared to Diana but soon to be set upon by Venus. In this case Homeric colouring is added to a fundamentally Apollonian imitation.[36]

At the moment of her first spectacular entrance into the action of the *Aeneid*, therefore, Dido is described in terms which invite the reader to compare her with both Nausikaa and Medea. The two-tier allusive process at work in this simile denies the possibility of assimilating Dido to any one character.[37] While Nausikaa remains an important model,[38] however, Virgil puts greater emphasis on the similarity between the Dido and Medea. As always, of course, differences are just as important as similarities. Virgil has placed the simile at an earlier point in the narrative of the Aeneas-Dido story than that in which the Medea-Artemis comparison occurs. Apollonius uses the simile when Medea is already in love with Jason and has decided to help him. Virgil places it after Aeneas' arrival at Carthage, before Dido is even aware of his presence in her land. In doing so he also departs from the Homeric model in which the simile is applied right at the start of the Phaeacian episode, even before Odysseus makes his way to the city of Alkinoos. Virgil thus gives the simile a quite original function. The comparison points to Dido's beauty and royal stature, as Aeneas, who has already heard enough about her from Venus to begin to admire a woman who is in a situation not dissimilar from his own but enjoying considerably more success in handling it, sees her enter the temple of Juno. The scene can only

[35] See Rütten (1912) 33; Clausen (1987) 21.
[36] See Conrardy (1904) 31; Otis (1964) 74; Briggs (1981) 965.
[37] See Cairns (1989) 134; Horsfall (1995) 133 f.
[38] See Cairns (1989) 130–4.

reinforce the good impression given by Venus of this exceptional woman. As such, the Diana simile plays a role in the early stages of the incipient love affair which is such a strong motif in the first book, in preparation for the passion of the fourth. The reference to the figure of Medea is clearly highly relevant to this theme, and at least suggests that Dido may be a lover in similar mould. In another sense, however, the two women are quite different. Dido is a queen intent on the building and organisation of a city, and her public functions are her main concern at the moment when she is compared to Diana. In this she differs radically from Medea who is compared to Artemis when she is acting against the wishes of the king Aietes by going to help Jason. The difference underlines Dido's queenly status.[39] However, while she is clearly no enamoured princess, the way in which the Diana simile also fits into the pattern of erotic themes in *Aeneid* 1 hints at the incompatibility between affairs of state and passionate love. The consequences of the tension between these two spheres in Dido's character will be disastrous, just as Medea's decision to choose a course of action motivated by love for Jason rather than by obedience to her father ultimately has tragic consequences.

Even at this early stage in the encounter between Aeneas and Dido, therefore, the similarities which link them to Jason and Medea clearly foreshadow the love affair to come. Aeneas has entered Carthage as Jason entered Aia and the moment at which the Trojan first catches sight of Dido is modelled on the scene which leads up to the first meeting between Jason and Medea. The Apollonian model is operative from the very beginning of the Dido episode and is in no way confined to the fourth book of the *Aeneid.* Appreciation of this fact leads to a heightened awareness of the coherent pattern of images and motifs linking books 1 and 4 and of the strong undercurrents of eroticism which lend unity to events in the opening book of the poem. It is consistently to Apollonius Rhodius that Virgil turns in handling the erotic themes which play such an important part in his epic. The scene following the Diana simile describes the arrival at Carthage of those other Trojans saved from the storm, exactly as predicted by Venus. Aeneas, safe and invisible in the protective cloud provided by Venus, watches as Ilioneus speaks to Dido and the Trojans are given a friendly and generous reception.

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[39] On Dido's role as ruler of her people see Cairns (1989) 29–57, esp. 40 f. on the Diana simile and its relevance to the portrayal of Dido as a good king.

This survey of the Apollonian in the *Aeneid* has concentrated on verbal allusion and imitative narrative structures in an attempt to demonstrate both that the *Argonautica* exercised a profound influence on Virgil throughout the *Aeneid* and that appreciation of his debt to Apollonius is indissociable from the question of his relation to Homer. The irony of course is that stylistically the *Aeneid* is in so many ways quite unlike the *Argonautica*. But Virgil clearly saw Apollonius' highly experimental epic narrative as a key text, as a crucial stage in the post-Homeric epic tradition. As we saw above, already in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, Apollonius is always in Virgil's mind when he comes to think about that tradition and his own place in it. The Hellenistic poet showed how one could set about composing an epic narrative which could stand comparison with Homer and avoid the pitfalls of Cyclic failure. Virgil reconstructs his own Homeric style after a long and precise study of Apollonius' deconstruction of Homeric paradigms. In his use of similes, Muses, direct and indirect speech, book-divisions, *ecphrasis* and focalisation, in his presentation of the divine, and in his grappling with the difficulty of beginning and the impossibility of closure, it is always with an eye on Apollonian practice that Virgil elaborates his response to the challenge posed by Homeric inimitability. Study of Apollonius helped teach him how to produce an epic which could be Homeric and original, classicizing, Aristotelian and yet Callimachean at the same time. Apollonius wrote a poem about kings and heroes, but that does not make him anti-Callimachean; it merely means that he and Callimachus were trying to do the same thing in different ways, write original narrative poetry about the past. One wrote the *Hekale* and the *Aetia*, the other an *Argonautica*.[40] When Virgil set out to write a Homeric epic, named after a character from the *Iliad*, which would tell the story both of Rome's remote past and recent history, he could not conceivably do so without realising that poems such as Callimachus' *Aitia* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* were crucial models. These and other Hellenistic poets, as well as historians of course, wrote about their Greek past from a new perspective. In Ptolemaic Alexandria, Apollonius and Callimachus construct narratives about the past which define and redefine ideas about history and identity, Hellenism and modernity, power, tradition and

[40] The discovery of a papyrus of Apollonius' *Foundation Poems* would be a fascinating find.

the aetiology of the present. In doing so, and in order to do so, they elaborate new poetic styles and techniques which enable them to engage with the poetry of the past in a spirit both of continuity and renewal. In Augustan Rome, as he wrote his *Aeneid*, Virgil studied their work with exquisite care. His too is a poetry which deals with history and changing identities, power and tradition, myths of origin and foundation. Virgil succeeded in writing his Homeric epic of Augustan *Romanitas* because he was the best reader Apollonius' Hellenistic *Argonautica* has ever had.

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"EST DEUS IN NOBIS...": MEDEA MEETS HER MAKER

Edward J. Kenney

1

It was always the heroines of Greek legend rather than the heroes that engaged Ovid's interest.[1] None fascinated him more than Medea, to whom he devoted three contrasting treatments and who returned to haunt him in his exile (*Tr.* 3.9). Diversely handled as they are, his three portraits have this in common, that they focus primarily not, as in Apollonius, on the bewildered girl agonizingly torn between the claims of love and duty, but on the commanding figure that dominates Euripides' tragedy, the witch and murderess. The one textually attested leitmotiv that is shared by all three versions is that of divine or demonic possession: Ov. *Her.* 12.211–12 *uiderit ista deus, qui nunc mea pectora uersat: / nescioquid certe mens mea maius agit; Med.* fr. 2 Lenz *feror huc illuc uae plena deo; Met.* 7.55 *maximus intra me deus est.*[2] In the *Heroides* Ovid had presented the case both for the prosecution and the defence in the letters of Hypsipyle (6) and Medea herself (12). Hypsipyle's letter, ostensibly written on learning of the triumphal return of the Argonauts, is shot through with intertextual foreboding of disasters to come; Medea's, written as she prepares to set those disasters in train, is similarly pregnant with backward-looking irony.[3] The pitifully few surviving fragments of his tragedy *Medea* tell us little, but it must have owed its chief inspiration to Euripides. For the *Heroides* he had drawn on both Euripides and Apollonius;[4] Medea as an epic heroine entailed engagement not only with Apollonius, but also with Virgil, who for his portrayal of Dido and Aeneas had extracted the essence of the relationship of Jason and Medea, its progress from love through betrayal to hatred and revenge.[5]

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[1] On the unidimensional portrayal of Paris, Leander and Akontios compared with the subtlety of his treatment of Helen, Hero and Kydippe cf. Kenney (1996) 5–19.
[2] Cf. Bessone (1997) 36–41, 281–2.
[3] Bloch (2000).
[4] Jacobson (1974) 94–123 *passim*; Bessone (1997) 19–23.
[5] Cf. Smith (1997) 96–104.

This offered an obvious opportunity for intertextual exploitation in the two-tier mode of allusivity characteristic of learned poetry,[6] of which he duly proceeded to take full advantage.

The mythographical tradition associated with Medea was rich and diverse.[7] Apollonius had necessarily treated it selectively; since in the *Metamorphoses* she is only one of a cast of characters running into the hundreds, Ovid had further to condense and simplify her story. Though she is allotted a more generous amount of space than most of the other heroines—the best part of half a book, nearly a thirtieth of the poem—only the first 158 lines of the 424 that are her portion deal with her involvement with the Argonauts; and, most strikingly of all, the tragic denouement of the "canonical"[8] Medea-story, the murder of her children, is alluded to almost casually in a way that represents her momentous sojourn in Corinth as hardly more than a brief stop-over in her devious aerial progress from Iolcus to Athens (*Met.* 7.394–7). Within the limited space thus left available for the story of her love for Jason Ovid carries out radical surgery on the plot as he found it in Apollonius. Preliminary events which in the *Argonautica* had occupied several hundred lines (*Arg.* 2.1260–3.770) are ruthlessly telescoped in a single sentence which leads without a syntactical break from the arrival of the Argonauts at Colchis straight to the *coup de foudre* and Medea's ensuing debate with herself (*Met.* 7.7–11).[9] The widely-distributed emotional fluctuations of the Apollonian Medea are condensed into that one soliloquy. However, the most drastic simplification of the Apollonian story is to be found in the calculated downsizing of Jason.

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The Argonautic expedition was one of the most celebrated episodes of classical mythology, and as its leader Jason was *ex officio*, so to

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[6] Hinds (1987) 56 and n. 16; McKeown (1987) 37–45.

[7] Graf (1997).

[8] Boedeker (1997) 127; it is as infanticide that Ovid identifies her elsewhere in his poetry: *AA* 1.336, 2.381–2, *Rem.* 59–60, *Tr.* 2.387–8.

[9] This sentence is a good example of a recurrent feature of the *Metamorphoses*, the "fast-forwarding" technique employed by Ovid to carry the reader quickly and effortlessly over structurally necessary but thematically unimportant links in the narrative chain.

say, a hero of the first rank, though one of what might be called a post-Homeric type, "a good organizer".[10] It is his aptitude for "making deals with foreigners"[11] that equips him to reach an understanding with Medea. She is impressed, not merely by his beauty, divinely enhanced as it is at a critical moment (*Arg.* 3.919–26), but also by his eloquence (*Arg.* 3.457–8, 975–1000). Apollonius presents a picture of their relationship in which conventional gung-ho heroism is tempered by foresight and diplomacy and in which Jason's role in controlling the events of the story is not dominant but complementary to Medea's.[12] These nuances Ovid makes no effort to develop. Just as Atalanta upstages the male participants in the Calydonian Hunt, so Ovid's Medea effectively emasculates Jason in a brutal deflation of whatever of his heroic *persona* had survived in Apollonius' carefully balanced treatment, turning him into a puppet who does no more than go through the motions of heroic prowess while she pulls the strings off-stage. This can perhaps be seen as a harking back to Euripides, an abrupt and drastic collapsing of the gradual process by which in his play "Medea effectively displaces Jason from the saga of which he was hero".[13] Be that as it may, it is entirely typical of Ovid's way with heroes in the *Metamorphoses*: "Encounter with the female . . . inevitably results in the unmanning of the Ovidian epic hero".[14] A sly hint of what is in store for Jason may be detected in the opening lines of book 7: the two-word summary *multaque perpessi* (*Met.* 7.5) of events narrated at length by Apollonius recalls both Homer's Odysseus, πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα (*Od.* 1.4) and Virgil's Aeneas, *multa quoque et bello passus* (*Aen.* 1.5). While that may appear to place Jason implicitly on a par with those archetypal heroes, the modest demands actually made on his heroic qualities in the sequel encourage the belief that proleptic irony is at work.

For it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Jason hardly needs to lift a finger in order to negotiate his ordeals. In Apollonius he is at least obliged to track the fire-eating bulls to their lair, withstand their charge, and exert all his strength to yoke them (*Arg.* 3.1288–1314). In Ovid the whole thing is all too obviously a put-up job from

[10] Clauss (1997) 151.
[11] *Ibid.* 155.
[12] Hunter (1989a) 31, Holmberg (1998) with earlier literature.
[13] Boedeker (1997) 147.
[14] Keith (1999) 239.

start to finish. He replaces the relatively informal arrangements described by Apollonius with a carefully staged setting for a pre-arranged performance. The Apollonian Aietes, heroically and martially accoutred (*Arg.* 3.1225–45), paces impatiently up and down the riverbank,[15] while the Colchians stand about "on the Caucasian heights" (*Arg.* 3.1275–7). Ovid depicts the scene *à la romaine* as an amphitheatral set-piece, with Aietes centrally enthroned in imperial splendour as President of the Games (*Met.* 7.102–3). The bulls have not had to be fetched; they appear on cue (*ecce*, 104), as if released from the *caueae* under the arena; and having arrived do nothing except stand, stare, and bellow, an effect brilliantly conveyed by the static quality of Ovid's description (*Met.* 7.111–14):[16]

uertere truces uenientis ad ora
terribiles uultus praefixaque cornua ferro,
pulureumque solum pede pulsauere bisulco
fumificisque locum mugitibus impleuerunt.

As he came they lowered
their terrible muzzles and their iron-tipped horns;
their cloven hooves stamped on the dusty ground
and smoky bellowings filled the waiting field.

Of the two similes with which Apollonius had embellished the encounter the first, depicting Jason confronting the charge of the bulls like a rock in a raging sea, a comparison markedly epic in tone (*Arg.* 3.1293–5 and Hunter [1989] *ad loc.*), Ovid pointedly reserves to illustrate a truly heroic struggle, that between Hercules and Achelous (*Met.* 9.39–41). The second, comparing the noise made by the bulls to that of a blacksmith's bellows (*Arg.* 3.1299–1305) is replaced by a pair comparing it successively to the roaring of a furnace and the fuming of slaked lime (*Met.* 7.106–8). This duplication—ostensibly magnifying the menace—in fact helps to convey the implication that this—a loud and vaporous din—is all the resistance that Jason may expect to meet. That implication is reinforced by the exaggerated onomatopoeia of the concluding line of the description: *fumificisque locum mugitibus impleuerunt.* Four-word hexameters, though commoner

[15] Reading ἑλισσόμενον at 3.1277; see Hunter (1989a) *ad loc.*
[16] Cf. Kenney (1973) 136–8. All translations from the *Metamorphoses* are by A. D. Melville.

in Ovid than in Virgil (59 in the *Metamorphoses* as against 23 in the *Aeneid*), are infrequent enough to draw attention to themselves and to impress. However, one may wonder what the impression on the Roman ear would have been of *fumificis*: the word is elsewhere attested in pagan Latin only in Plautus (*ap.* Varro, *LL* 7.38 = fr. 118 Lindsay), there of a cook. Ovid's readers can hardly have been expected to take these bulls very seriously. It is otherwise with the Greek spectators, who are meanwhile on tenterhooks, but in the event all their intrepid leader is called on to do before yoking these formidable animals is to caress them (*Met.* 7.115–17):

deriguere metu Minyae; subit ille nec ignes
sensit anhelatos (tantum medicamina possunt),
pendulaque audaci mulcet palearia dextra . . .

The Greeks were stiff with terror. On he went
and never felt the snorted flames, such power
the magic charms possessed; with daring hand
he stroked their hanging dewlaps . . .

Again the architecture of the verse furthers the deflationary effect: a "Golden" line, abVAB, suggesting the instant establishment of a cosy intimacy with the beasts that imparts to the word *audaci* more than a tinge of irony.

No more effort is called for in the next encounter with the Spartoi. In Apollonius Jason engages in hand-to-hand combat with them (*Arg.* 3.1377 ff.); true, he had been instructed to do so by Medea and knew that no harm would befall him (*Arg.* 3.1047–9, 1059–61; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.23), but his engagement in the fray is portrayed as truly heroic and is illustrated with similes to match (*Arg.* 3.1365–7, 1377–9 and Hunter [1989] *ad locc.*). In Ovid's version of events not even a show of force is required of him. The trick with the stone suffices,[17] and Medea brings up her magic reserves, her *carmen auxiliare* (*Met.* 7.137–8), for good measure. The hollowness of Jason's achievement is further implied by the brevity and peremptory character of the passage describing the mutual slaughter of the Spartoi, which ends abruptly and anticlimactically in mid-verse (*Met.* 7.141–2):

[17] By not making Jason intervene, Ovid simplifies and tidies up the rationale of the episode, but it is still not entirely clear why the ruse should have worked in the first place: cf. Hunter (1989a) 215 on *Arg.* 3.1057–60.

terrigenae pereunt per mutua uulnera fratres
ciuilique cadunt acie. gratantur Achiui . . .

then by mutual wounds
in civil strife the earthborn brethren died.
The Greeks acclaimed . . .

All is then over bar the shouting, which duly follows. It is of course Medea whom the Greeks ought to be congratulating; as it is, she is left to congratulate herself in silence.

There remains the third and last trial, the abstraction of the Fleece from the custody of the never-sleeping dragon. Here Ovid's account conforms with Apollonius': Jason stays safely in the rear (*Arg.* 4.149) while Medea administers the drugs and chants the spells. He has merely to collect the Fleece when the coast is clear. The accomplishment of this feat, the abduction of Medea, and the triumphant return to Iolcus, are all disposed of in one fluent and swiftly-moving sentence, another good example of Ovidian "fast-forwarding" (*Met.* 7.152–8):[18]

hunc postquam sparsit Lethaei gramine suci
uerbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
quae mare turbatum, quae concita flumina sistunt,
somnus in ignotos oculos †ubi uenit† et auro
heros Aesonius potitur spolioque superbus
muneris auctorem secum, spolia altera, portans
uictor Iolciacos tetigit cum coniuge portus.

Then with the opiate herb's Lethean juice
besprinkled she the creature and pronounced
three times the words that bring deep peaceful sleep,
that stay the troubled seas, the swollen streams,
and on those sleepless eyes sleep fell at last.
And Jason won the famous Golden Fleece
and proudly with his prize, and with her too,
his second prize, who gave him mastery,
sailed home victorious to his fatherland.

So much for the 1781 verses of *Argonautica* 4! Summary as the passage is, however, it is pregnant with ironic resonances. Jason has little to be really proud of, and his conduct, if the truth be known, has not been notably heroic. The woman who is borne in his vic-

[18] Cf. above, n. 9.

torious train as part of the booty—*spolia altera*, a secondary acquisition, a mere appendage to the Fleece—is fated to destroy him. The word *muneris* (*Met.* 7.157) foreshadows another, lethal, gift to be bestowed in the sequel, the poisoned robe. This is the point at which the inexperienced girl who was swept off her feet by the mere sight of Jason and who sacrificed all for love of him is finally lost sight of to be replaced by the demonic figure whom earth, heaven and hell obey. Of Jason, apart from his brief colloquy with her about Aeson (*Met.* 7.164–78), we hear no more. How he too, lacking aerial transport, makes his way to Corinth we are left to conjecture. His later reappearance in the episode of the Calydonian Hunt does nothing to retrieve his reputation. Of his two spear-casts the first overshoots the mark (*Met.* 8.347–9), the second kills a hound (8.411–13)—the ultimate hunting-field crime.[19] Even judged by the general standard of heroic ineptitude as Ovid tells this famous story, Jason's is an undistinguished performance.

3

The mythographical tradition saddled Ovid with the same problem that had confronted Apollonius, that of reconciling two Medeas: the naive girl of the type of Tarpeia—"typically . . . young, beautiful, and somewhat dumb"[20]—and the ruthless and determined sorceress and infanticide who dominates the literary tradition after Euripides. Recent critics have contended that this duality or inconsistency is not so sharp in Apollonius' handling of the story as has been commonly held.[21] Nevertheless, even if glimpses of her latent demonism can be plausibly detected in the preceding narrative, the moment in the *Argonautica* where the distraught suppliant of the opening episode of book 4 (*Arg.* 4.6–108) is transformed by her discovery of Jason's meditated treachery, first into a raging virago minded to burn the Argo and immolate herself in the flames (*Arg.* 4.391–3), and then into a cold-blooded and calculating contriver of fratricide (*Arg.* 4.410–44), must operate as something of a shock. To explain and perhaps to

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[19] Reading *latrantis* at 8.412.
[20] Graf (1997) 24.
[21] Clauss (1997) 166 and n. 45.

mitigate the abruptness of this metamorphosis Apollonius invokes once more the intervention of Eros and ἄτη (*Arg.* 4.445–9). That can perhaps be seen as constituting an implicit admission that, however this episode entered the story,[22] it was by now a feature of it that poets were, to put it crudely, stuck with.[23] So far from glozing it over, however, "Apollonius emphasizes the brutality and treachery of the murder",[24] and indeed dwells with something like pedantic relish on the gruesome circumstances.[25] The completeness of Medea's transformation from dupe to accomplice is symbolized by Jason's daubing her clothes with her murdered brother's blood (*Arg.* 4.471–4) and is subsequently clinched by their joint supplication and purification at the hands of Kirke (*Arg.* 4.685–717). Her new identity is now fixed, and there is no escaping it.

4

Medea, as we have said, clearly fascinated Ovid. The Medea that we meet in the *Metamorphoses* represents "his third and final attempt to elucidate this complex myth".[26] Whether elucidation was what he either aimed at or achieved may admit of argument. Discussion of the question must focus on her soliloquy (*Met.* 7.11–71). This is a significant moment in the economy of the poem: "It is with Medea that the famous duel of *amor* and *pudor* enters the *Metamorphoses*".[27] It is followed by a series of such dramatic monologues in which the emotions of heroines torn between the conflicting imperatives of passion and reason, love and duty, have all the resources of Ovid's empathetic rhetoric brought to bear on them: Scylla (*Met.* 8.44–80), Althaea (8.481–511), Byblis (9.474–516), Myrrha (10.320–55), Atalanta (10.611–35).[28] They look back to the sympathetic depiction of emo-

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[22] See Bremmer (1997) 83–8.

[23] The invocation of ἄτη implicitly poses a question with which Apollonius must have been familiar: are its victims responsible for their actions? Cf. e.g. Onians (1951) 327–8; Macleod (1982) on *Il.* 24.27–8; Edwards (1991) 245–7 on *Il.* 19.85–138; Kenney (1995) 199 and n. 79.

[24] Bremmer (1997) 84.

[25] *Arg.* 4.477–81; on the expiatory rituals performed by Jason cf. Livrea (1973) *ad loc.*

[26] Newlands (1997) 178.

[27] Otis (1970) 172–3.

[28] *Pace* Newlands ([1997] 192–5, 200–7) I do not find the stories of Prokne and Orithyia especially pertinent. Skylla (*ibid.* 196–200), another Tarpeia-figure, certainly is.

tional states in Euripidean and Hellenistic tragedy;[29] for Ovid they represent a revisiting and re-exploitation in a new generic setting of an experiment initiated in the *Heroides*. Though it is true that, as has been acknowledged, "emotional monologues of mythical women in love . . . had a long history before the Heroides",[30] there was no precedent for what was in effect a new sub-genre examining such a relationship exclusively from the woman's point of view.[31] For his Medea Ovid of course drew freely on Apollonius in the first instance. For her debate with herself he combined material from three separate Apollonian soliloquies (*Arg.* 3.464–70, 636–44, 771–801)[32] and from Euripides, with Virgil's Dido also making her presence felt. His solution of the problem of the two Medeas was characteristically unscrupulous. As we have seen, he drastically telescoped Apollonius' narrative so as to confront Medea, and the reader, with her dilemma the moment she, and the Argonauts, enter the poem. The abruptness of her first appearance and her instant infatuation with Jason, contrasting with Apollonius' elaborate build-up to this critical moment, is typical of the way in which things happen in the world of the *Metamorphoses*. In that world Fate, as Wodehouse puts it, is always just round the corner, slipping the lead in the boxing-glove; divine intervention in human affairs in that world is frequently blind, sometimes anonymous,[33] but always capricious. No words are wasted in describing the impact on Medea of her first sight of Jason. The simile with which Apollonius had illustrated that moment (*Arg.* 3.291–8) is displaced to their second, crucial, meeting (*Met.* 7.76–84), where it replaces Apollonius' brilliant image of Jason as Sirius (*Arg.* 3.956–61).[34] The elaborate sequence of analyses of Medea's fluctuating states of

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[29] Heinze (1960) 389, 395–9.

[30] Jacobson (1974) 7.

[31] The rich and diverse post-classical exploitation of the idea chronicled by Dörrie (1968) is eloquent testimony to its inherent vitality. The original inspiration was Propertius' (4.3); it is characteristic of Ovid to have sensed its immense potentiality.

[32] The Apollonian Medea also colours the portrayal of Byblis and Myrrha: cf. Bömer (1977) 412–4.

[33] That "the gods play no apparent part in motivating the love affair" (Newlands [1997] 185) is literally true of the initial encounter; but Cupid does in fact put in an appearance, both thinly disguised as *nescioquis deus* and then under his own name. It is unfortunate that at *Met.* 7.19–20 *aliudque cupido,/mens aliud suadet* modern conventions of presentation compel an editor to choose between *cupido* and *Cupido*. The eye and ear of the ancient reader was free to respond to the ironic ambiguity of Medea's words. Cf. below, n. 58.

[34] An indication perhaps that Ovid did sometimes know where to draw the line in *aemulatio*?

mind with which Apollonius had punctuated her soliloquies is compressed into two words and the decision that she is faced with making is presented in all its adversarial starkness as a declamatory proposition (*Met.* 7.10–11):

et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem
uincere non poterat . . .

long she fought
her frenzy, but the voice of reason failed.

Ovid's solution to the problem of accounting for the metamorphosis of bewildered *ingénue* to "shrewdly calculating"[35] woman of the world is, to reiterate the word used above, unscrupulous: to burke it, to proceed in effect as if it did not exist. He makes no attempt to emulate Apollonius' subtle exploration of the paradoxes of Medea's character.[36] Within ten lines of the beginning of her dialogue with herself his Medea, in words as frequently quoted as any in Ovid, shows that "she knows exactly what she is doing" (*Met.* 7.20–1):[37]

uideo meliora proboque,
deteriora sequor.

The better course I see and do approve—
the worse I follow.

The sentiment is Euripidean, and it is no accident that the words of the Euripidean Medea (E. *Med.* 1078–9),

[35] Otis (1970) 60. Medea's address to herself by name in the first line of her soliloquy is an obvious affective device, but it also serves as a reminder of the traditional etymologizing connexion of the name with μῆτις and μήδομαι: cf. *Arg.* 3.825–7 and Hunter (1989a) *ad loc.*; and on Agamede cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.740 and Hainsworth (1993) *ad loc.*, Perimede Theoc. *Id.* 2.14–16 and Gow (1950) *ad loc.* The words *frustra Medea repugnas*, that is, can be read = "for all your cunning you resist in vain". The point is more readily taken if editorial commas are not used to enforce the syntactical status of *Medea* as vocative rather than predicative nominative—a recurrent problem in the *Metamorphoses*, as at e.g. 7.742; 8.433.

[36] Hunter (1993a) 59–68.

[37] Galinsky (1975) 64. Cf. Heinze (1960) 390–1: "die Folgen ihres Entschlusses . . . stehen ihr klar vor Augen, ehe noch Iason Gelegenheit gehabt hat, ihr auch nur von der Möglichkeit zu sprechen, daß sie ihm folge. So handelt sie nicht in dumpfem Drange, sondern mit klarem Bewußtsein des Ziels und der Wege, die zu ihm führen; der Monolog drückt das aufs durchsichtigste aus". Is "disarming" (Newlands [1997] 183) quite the right word to describe all this?

καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά,
θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων,[38]

And I know well what pain I am about to undergo, but my wrath overbears my calculation (transl. D. Kovacs),

come from the speech immediately preceding the murder of her children. The apparent naivety of her first question to herself—can this be what they call love, *quod amare uocatur*?—recalls the words of another Euripidean heroine, Phaedra's question to the Nurse, τί τοῦθ' ὃ δὴ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπους ἐρᾶν; (E. *Hipp.* 347). It also signals the first of a series of intertextual ironies of the kind that we have learned to associate with Ovid's heroines. "We are now used to an Ovid who has a self-consciousness about intertextuality which it is hard to outwit or to overrate".[39]

5

Nobody who knew his Ovid could, on reading Medea's opening words, fail to recall the beginning of the second poem of the *Amores* (1.2.1–2):

esse quid hoc dicam, quod tam mihi dura uidentur
strata eqs.?

What's wrong with me I wonder? This mattress feels so hard. (transl. G. Lee)

She is indeed practically quoting (*Met.* 7.14):

nam cur iussa patris nimium mihi dura uidentur?

Else why do my father's orders seem too harsh?

In both cases the apparent naivety is a smokescreen, barely concealing awareness, in which the lover and Medea are made complicit with the poet, of what is going on behind the scenes. She can be in no real doubt of the identity of the *nescioquis deus* who is thwarting her better self (*Met.* 7.12), any more than "Ovid" had forgotten

[38] Whether or not the passage in which these lines occur is from the pen of Euripides (see Diggle [1984] *ad loc.*), it must have stood in Ovid's text.
[39] Burrow (1999) 271; cf. Keith (1992) 30–1; Knox (1995) 18–25.

the hijacking of his Muse by Cupid in the first poem of the *Amores*. In the light of this hint it is hardly fanciful to read the summary *luctata diu* as an intertextual footnote directing the well-instructed reader to the relevant passages of the *Argonautica*.[40] Suspicion that Ovid's Medea knows her Euripides, her Apollonius, and her Virgil, intensifies as one reads on. If she allows Jason to be abandoned to his fate, she reflects (*Met.* 7.32–3),

tum me de tigride natam,
tum ferrum et scopulos gestare in corde fatebor,

I'll surely own
a tigress was my dam and in my heart
I nurture iron and stone,

a clear echo (*imitatio cum variatione*, as we used simplistically to call it) of Dido's tirade against Aeneas (*Aen.* 4.365–7):

nec tibi diua parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.

You are a traitor. You are not the son of a goddess and Dardanus was not the first founder of your family. It was the Caucasus that fathered you on its hard rocks and Hyrcanian tigers offered you their udders. (transl. D. West).

What Virgil's portrayal of Dido owes to Apollonius need not be documented here. Chronologically in real time the *Aeneid* precedes the *Metamorphoses*; in mythological time the events narrated in it long postdate the story of the Fleece. Medea, like other Ovidian heroines, inserts herself into the literary tradition of which she is part.[41] This is of a piece with the wilful games with mythographical chronology that Ovid can be found playing from start to finish of the *Metamorphoses*.[42] Suspicion hardens to certainty when Medea turns to con-

[40] Compare with this what is arguably the best intertextual joke in the poem, the description of Ariadne lamenting Theseus' desertion as *multa querenti* (*Met.* 8.176). Her "lengthy" complaints are compressed into a single word because Skylla has stolen her thunder, having appropriated them to use against Minos (*Met.* 8.108–42), along with material culled from Euripides, Apollonius, Virgil and Ovid himself, from Catullus' classic treatment in the *Peleus and Thetis*; and the little that Skylla had left unexploited is reserved for appropriation by Byblis (*Met.* 9.613–5). Cf. on Skylla's use of *Her.* 10 Newlands (1997) 198 and n. 34, and on Ariadne's "reminiscences" of Catullus in that poem Hinds (1995) 42–3 and n. 9.

[41] Above, n. 39.

[42] Feeney (1999), Zissos and Gildenhard (1999), Wheeler (1999) 117–39. Similarly

template the perils she will have to face on the return voyage if she throws in her lot with Jason's (*Met.* 7.62–5):

quid quod nescioqui mediis concurrere in undis
dicuntur montes ratibusque inimica Charybdis
nunc sorbere fretum, nunc reddere, cinctaque saeuis
Scylla rapax canibus Siculo latrare profundo?

But what of those strange tales of cliffs that clash
in the open sea, Charybdis' whirling waves
that suck and spew to sink the ships she hates,
and greedy Scylla, girt with savage hounds
baying beside the seas of Sicily?

This professed ignorance on her part of "some mountains or other" archly signals awareness on her part of an ancient scholarly crux. "Throughout the history of Greek and Roman literature there had been an embarrassing over-supply of non-fixed rocks in the seas of myth".[43] The tradition did not consistently distinguish between the Symplegades or "Clashing" rocks (also the Kyaneai, "Dark" rocks) and the Planktai, the "Wandering" rocks. The first of these the Argo had successfully negotiated on her way to Colchis, the second awaited her on the homeward voyage. Apollonius went out of his way to compound this old problem by making Hera refer to the Symplegades as the Planktai (*Arg.* 4.786 and Livrea [1973] *ad loc.*). This "slip" was certainly deliberate, the poet demonstrating his awareness, as a paid-up Alexandrian, of the variant versions of the Argonautic legend: "As part of the 'learned' approach to myth, Apollonius makes visible the process of selection between variants, either by referring to a rejected version in the course of telling the selected one or by combining previously competing versions".[44] Intertextuality and the deliberate exploitation of "inconsistencies" and "anachronisms" is not an Ovidian invention: Apollonius can be clearly seen "model[ling] his Jason and his Medea with an eye to their 'subsequent' history in Euripides' tragedy".[45] From that it is only a short step to having Medea insert herself into the scholarly debate, as she had previously

Helen's reply to Paris shows that her investigation into his past has included study of Oinone's epistle: Kenney (1995) 195.

[43] Hinds (1993) 16.

[44] Hunter (1989a) 21.

[45] *Ibid.* 19; cf. Hinds (1993) 17 and Boedeker (1997) 138 on Aeschylean "contextual echoes" in *Medea.*

done in *Heroides* 12. Medea-as-scholiast, as might be expected, adopts a thoroughly scholarly position—on the fence. Quintilian would doubtless have approved, holding as he did that *inter uirtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire* (*IO* 1.8.21).

Ovid goes on to underline her awareness of more confusion in the literary tradition. Apollonius, having made Hera apparently mislead his readers, goes on to set the record straight by later describing the successful homeward passage of the Argo past Skylla, Charybdis and—the Planktai (*Arg.* 4.920–63). Ovid's Medea is not content to leave the matter at that, for her use of the word *concurrere*[46] redirects his readers back to the Symplegades, indicating that in her view the question remains open: "Medea, once more acting as critical commentator on her own story, alludes to the one remaining area of critical confusion which she had left unconfused in her earlier account of the geography".[47] That, however, is not all. Mention of Skylla and Charybdis opens up further vistas of scholarly perplexity. These only dawn on the reader some seventy lines later, in an apparently casual reference to a forthcoming metamorphosis. Among the herbs collected for her rejuvenation of Aison, Medea (*Met.* 7.232–3)

carpsit et Euboica uiuax Anthedone gramen,
nondum mutato uulgatum corpore Glauci.

And from Anthedon
she plucked the grass of life, not yet renowned
for that sea-change the Euboean merman found.

This grass is as yet unknown to fame both because Ovid has not yet told the story (such references to forthcoming attractions being a familiar feature of the poem) and because, within the narrative sequence of the *Metamorphoses*, the transformation of Glaukos, and that of Skylla, which follows on from it, have not yet happened. Nor is that all. In making light of these dangers Medea imagines herself carried over the sea in Jason's arms (*Met.* 7.66–7),

nempe tenens quod amo gremioque in Iasonis haerens
per freta longa ferar,

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[46] This reading is admittedly ill-supported; but neither of the better-attested alternatives, *occurrere* or *incurrere*, carries conviction—to say nothing of the fact that they sabotage the joke.

[47] Hinds (1993) 16, in a brilliant reading of *Her.* 12 in the backward light cast by the *Metamorphoses*. On *dicuntur* and similar expressions as "Alexandrian footnotes" equivalent to "as learned poets tell us", see most recently Hinds (1998) 1–5, Burrow (1999) 271 n. 2.

Yes! In his arms and holding him I love
on the far seas I'll fare,

using almost precisely the same phrase with which another Skylla will launch herself in pursuit of the object of her love, Minos (*Met.* 8.141–2):

insequar inuitum puppimque amplexa recuruam
per freta longa trahar.

Against your will I'll follow. I shall clutch
your curving poop and you shall carry me
across the seas' long swell.

She too will be borne across the sea clinging to what she loves. In fact that is not what happens; Skylla too has been roped into the intertextual game, evincing her awareness of the alternative version of the story, in which Minos punished her by tying her to the prow of his ship. Her "attachment" to Minos will result in odium for both,[48] as Medea's will for herself and Jason. Medea, then, is extracting yet more mileage from "that most mannered and celebrated of all Alexandrian conflations, the one between the two Skyllas",[49] as she had already done in *Heroides* 12. Elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses* Ovid distinguishes the two, but he evidently could not allow to pass unexploited the opportunity offered by the proximity and thematic similarity of the two stories to have Medea drop another hint of her awareness of the complexities of the literary tradition of which she is part.[50] Once again we are reminded that she is also conscious of her Euripidean identity, for Jason "had" in the play called her "more savage" than Skylla (E. *Med.* 1343–4),

τῆς Τυρσηνίδος
Σκύλλης ἔχουσαν ἀγριωτέραν φύσιν,[51]

With a nature more savage than Skylla the Tuscan monster! (transl. D. Kovacs).

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[48] Cf. Prop. 3.19.26–8; the significance there of *tamen* in line 27 should be pressed.
[49] Hinds (1993) 15 and n. 14.
[50] A further strand of the intertextual web may be detected in the recurrence of the phrase *tantum medicamina possunt* (*Met.* 7.116) much later in the poem, there to describe the enchantments of Kirke, Medea's aunt and the agent of the transformation of the monster-Skylla (*Met.* 7.14.285, 40–67).
[51] See Boedeker (1997) 132, 138, and cf. A. *Ag.* 1233–4, where Kassandra compares Klytemestra to Skylla, and Fraenkel (1950) *ad loc.*

Those words are uttered after the murder of the children; by involving Medea in this intertextual collapse of identity and chronology Ovid hints at the crime for which above all she will be remembered and execrated by posterity. Otherwise he accords it, as we have noted, only a passing reference (*Met.* 7.396–7); and Medea's final exit from the narrative does not take place at that point in the story, but only after her abortive attempt on the life of Theseus, when she disappears, as befits a witch, in a puff of smoke (*Met.* 7.424).

6

Medea's belittlement of the terrors of the return voyage is consistent with the whole tenor of her debate with herself. Throughout her soliloquy it is the Unjust Argument—*furor*—that holds the winning cards. There is the prospect of a brilliant marriage (*Met.* 7.48–9), the title of *Sospitatrix Achaiae* (*Met.* 7.50, 56), civilization and culture in place of provincial barbarism (*Met.* 7.53, 57–8): this is what beckons. So much for *deteriora*: treachery = betterment. This is a far cry from the suppliant posture in which the Apollonian Medea imagines presenting herself at Jason's palace (*Arg.* 3.1114–7). It is now her own land that she pictures as *alienus orbis* (*Met.* 7.22). But always there is the undercurrent of irony. The fear that Jason might after all betray her "will" be realized in the *Medea* and the *Argonautica.* The naive conviction that his good looks must betoken moral excellence (*Met.* 7.43–5) is something that Ovid had expressly warned against in the *Ars Amatoria* (3.433–6). Mention of her brother as *adhuc infans* (54) signals that Ovid, as he had done in the *Heroides* (12.113–6), is following that version of the legend in which she will already be a child-murderer even before her marriage to Jason. Her ecstatic vision of her new status as his bride as a kind of apotheosis (*Met.* 7.61),

> *dis cara ferar et uertice sidera tangam,*[52]
>
> fortune's darling: my head shall touch the stars!

is sardonically qualified by the reminiscence of Jason's would-be reassuring words to the Apollonian Medea, citing the example of another heroine who was richly rewarded for helping another hero (*Arg.* 3.1001–7):

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[52] Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.1.36 *sublimi feriam uertice sidera* and Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) *ad loc.*, Otto (1890) s.v. *caelum* (10).

τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσῳ δέ οἱ αἰθέρι τέκμωρ
ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τόν τε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδνης,
πάννυχος οὐρανίοις ἐνελίσσεται εἰδώλοισιν·
ὣς καὶ σοὶ θεόθεν χάρις ἔσσεται, εἴ κε σαώσεις
τόσσον ἀριστήων ἀνδρῶν στόλον· ἦ γὰρ ἔοικας
ἐκ μορφῆς ἀγανῇσιν ἐπητείῃσι κεκάσθαι.

The very immortals loved her, and as her sign in the middle of the sky a crown of stars, which men call "Ariadne's Crown", revolves all night long among the heavenly constellations. Thus will the gods show gratitude to you also, if you save so great an expedition of heroic men; and to judge from your appearance I would guess that your character is both gentle and kindly. (transl. R. Hunter)

What Jason carefully refrains from mentioning is that, as Ovid will go on to relate (*Met.* 8.169–82), when Ariadne achieved heaven it was because she was rescued by a god after Theseus had deserted her; so Medea, deserted (as she sees it) by Jason, will escape heavenwards by divine favour, leaving a trail of destruction behind her.[53] But the culminating irony of her debate with herself is reserved for the apparently conclusive argument which, for the moment at least,[54] carries the day in favour of *ratio*. Shocked into sanity by having allowed herself to refer to Jason as her *coniunx*, she exclaims (*Met.* 7.69–71)

coniugiumne putas speciosaque nomina culpae
imponis, Medea, tuae? quin aspice quantum
aggrediare nefas et dum licet effuge crimen,

No, Medea, not your husband!
With that fair name you cloak your infamy.
Look long and see how great, how vile the crime
that lies ahead—and flee the guilt in time,

an unmistakable echo of Virgil's famous lines (*Aen.* 4.171–2):

nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem:
coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

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[53] See Hunter (1989a) 207–8 on *Arg.* 3.997–1004, Clauss (1997) 171.

[54] *Met.* 7.73 *uicta dabat iam terga Cupido; dabat*, not *dedit*. In the face of Medea's moral bodyguard of *Rectum, Pietas* and *Pudor*—personifications ironically reminiscent of those led captive on a previous occasion by Cupid, *Mens Bona . . . et Pudor et castris quicquid Amoris obest* (*Am.* 1.2.31–2)—Cupid affects to quit the field; but he is, and so implicitly has, the last word: only four verses later he is back in triumph (*Met.* 7.76–7).

> From now on Dido... no longer kept her love as a secret in her own heart, but called it marriage, using the word to cover her guilt. (transl. D. West).

Her abrupt and apparently final determination is instantly compromised by that ominous resonance.

7

And indeed that determination lasts no longer, in Ovid's ruthless compression of the Apollonian narrative, than the time it takes for her to proceed to her unexplained rendezvous with Jason in the sacred grove of Hekate. In the *Argonautica* her decision to help Jason, her visit to Hekate's shrine, and Jason's presence there, are the outcome of a complex series of negotiations in which her sister Chalkiope and her son Argos play a crucial role; it is indeed Argos who sets the whole train of events in motion by suggesting enlisting Medea's assistance (*Arg.* 3.523–39; cf. Ov. *Her.* 12.61–6). Ovid does not trouble to explain any of this: her soliloquy closes with Cupid retreating in apparent disarray, and the next scene finds her on her way to the meeting with her mind, it would seem, firmly made up (*Met.* 7.74–6). The meeting itself is the merest précis of a long episode in the *Argonautica* (3.948–1162), pregnant with the doubts and ambiguities which Ovid elected to transfer to Medea's single soliloquy. At one point Ovid permits himself something like a joke at the expense of an epic convention elaborately developed by Apollonius. The first sight of Jason is enough to sweep away all Medea's scruples, and, remarks the narrator demurely, he did happen to be looking more than ordinarily handsome (*Met.* 7.84–5):

> *et casu solito formosior Aesone natus*
> *illa luce fuit; posses ignoscere amanti.*

> By chance that day on Jason's features shone
> uncommon grace; her love could find excuse.

Of course this does not happen "simply by chance";[55] the thing has been set up. Like all other epic heroes from Odysseus onwards Jason can count on divine intervention to enhance his appearance at a critical moment. Ovid could rely on his readers to take for granted

[55] *Pace* Newlands (1997) 185.

a point that Apollonius had carefully spelt out (*Arg.* 3.919–23).[56] He is not denying the convention, rather inviting his readers to share his awareness of it as a cliché and to be flattered by the assumption that, as between *doctus poeta* and *doctus lector*, a wink is as good as a nod. Which god in this case does the trick we are left to guess;[57] the obvious candidate is Cupid, still in the offing.[58] As we noted above, the striking simile with which Apollonius had illustrated Jason's arrival (*Arg.* 3.956–61) is replaced by another of an altogether more ordinary, indeed almost hackneyed character,[59] also culled from him (*Met.* 7.77–83 ~ *Arg.* 3.291–8). In describing Medea's physical reactions to Jason's appearance Ovid harks back to his Roman predecessors (*Met.* 7.86–8):

spectat et in uultu ueluti tum denique uiso
lumina fixa tenet nec se mortalia demens
ora uidere putat nec se declinat ab illo.

She gazed, her eyes fixed on his face as if
not ever seen before; in her wild thoughts
his features seemed not mortal; motionless
she stood there . . .

That vignette, and more particularly the word *declinat*, recalls Catullus' description of Ariadne on her first sight of Theseus (64.86–7, 91–3),

hunc simul ac cupido conspexit lumine uirgo
regia, . . .

non prius ex illo flagrantia declinauit
lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam
funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis,

Soon as the maiden princess with longing look espied
him . . .

She did not turn away from him her smouldering
Eye-beams until throughout her frame she had caught
fire
Deep down, and in her inmost marrow was all ablaze. (transl. G. Lee),

[56] Cf. *Od.* 6.229–31; 23.156–8; Virg. *Aen.* 1.588–91.
[57] Hinds (1993) 25: "cosmetics courtesy of Zeus's wife Hera, or just . . . *casu*?"
[58] As he had previously been at *Am.* 2.5.42, where he saw to it that the poet's cheating mistress never looked more beguiling than when caught in the act: *et numquam casu pulchrior illa fuit.* Housman's *uisu* may stand as a warning against underestimating Ovid's wit.
[59] Cf. *Her.* 7.23–4, *AA* 2.439–44 and Baldo *ap.* Pianezzola (1991) *ad loc.*, *Rem.* 731–4.

and her vision of him as θεοειδής, θεοείκελος, recalls Dido's first impression of Aeneas as *deo similis* (Virg. *Aen.* 1.589). Their meeting is thus immediately overshadowed by intertextual nuances of betrayal. Throughout the scene the focus remains on Medea; Jason's pleading (*Met.* 7.89–91) is no more than a jejune précis of the three separate speeches allotted him by Apollonius (*Arg.* 3.975–1007, 1079–1101, 1120–30). The words in which she yields again show that she is fully aware of what she is doing (*Met.* 7.92–3),

quid faciam uideo, nec me ignorantia ueri
decipiet, sed amor,

I see, she cried, the thing I do;
It's love not ignorance leads me astray,

and the reader still has freshly in mind the shrewd weighing up of pros and cons that has preceded her protestations that she is doing all this for love. For all her tears she does not really see herself as a helpless victim of forces beyond her control.

8

That almost from the first Ovid's Medea has been conscious of her powers and the capability that they confer on her of controlling both her own destiny and that of others emerges at more than one point in her soliloquy. Though she does not in so many words refer to her magical gifts,[60] her acknowledgment that she alone can save Jason (*Met.* 7.29–31) shows that she is fully aware of them, for there is no other way available to her of helping. A few lines later she significantly speaks of *compelling* the gods to witness the oath he is to take (*Met.* 7.46–7):

et dabit ante fidem cogamque in foedera testes
esse deos.

And he shall pledge his troth; I'll make the gods
witnesses of our pact.

This is the language of the enchantress who, as she later proclaims, can constrain Sun, Moon, Dawn and stars to do her bidding (*Met.*

[60] Newlands (1997) 183.

7.207–9, 217).[61] The *nescioquis deus* whom she had implicitly identified as Cupid in her opening words has been insensibly transformed into a power that possesses and dominates her and that will drive her to terrible extremes of vengeance and wanton destruction.[62] The superhuman demonic figure that takes over the narrative on the transference of the scene to Iolcus was, it seems, there all the time. Ovid has, as he so often does, pulled a fast one.

9

With the advent of this Medea Ovid parts company with the Apollonian narrative, though still according it one or two backward glances. The picture of Medea sallying out under the full moon on her quest for magic herbs (*Met.* 7.180–5) recalls Apollonius' description of her elopement and the Moon's sardonic reflections thereon (*Arg.* 4.43–65); and the succeeding night-scene echoes a motif that Apollonius had used to great effect in his portrayal of the lovesick Medea (*Arg.* 3.744–51).[63] The comparatively modest catalogue of magical powers ascribed to her by Argos (*Arg.* 3.531–3) is vastly expanded and embellished by Ovid, in keeping with his presentation of a witch who can bend all Nature to her will (*Met.* 7.199–209).[64] One can perhaps catch a fleeting glimpse of Apollonius also in the touch of sardonic humour with which the murder of Pelias is introduced (*Met.* 7.297–8):

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[61] Commentators have failed to respond to Ovid's humour here. The Sun, Aietes' father, is her grandfather, Selene (Luna) and Eos (Aurora) her great-aunts (Hes. *Op.* 372–4). By turning Aurora pale, as she boasts of being able to do, Medea robs her of her literary identity as the "rosy" or "rosy-fingered" goddess. So much for the claims of filial and family piety! There is thus a further stroke of irony in Jason's solemn oath by the Sun (*Met.* 7.96)—hardly an impartial witness.

[62] Cf. above, n. 2 and Bessone (1997) 37 on "[la] possibile confusione tra *furor* erotico e *furor* della vendetta".

[63] The "all the world was at rest, except only . . ." topos has had a long history extending from Homer to Dryden and beyond. It recurs at *Met.* 8.81–4; 10.368–81; and Virgil had drawn on Apollonius for both Dido and Aeneas (*Aen.* 4.522–32, 8.26–30). See the comprehensive note of Pease (1935) on *Aen.* 4.522.

[64] Such catalogues were conventional: cf. *Her.* 6.83–92 (Hypsipyle on Medea); *Am.* 1.8.5–12; 2.1.23–6; Lucan 6.461–506; Apul. *Met.* 1.3.1; 1.8.4; 3.15.7; 3.16.2. It was left to Seneca to abandon all restraint in his portrayal of Medea: see *Med.* 670–842 and Costa (1973) on 670–739.

neue doli cessent, odium cum coniuge falsum
Phasias adsimulat . . .

Then, to continue with her witch's tricks,
Medea, feigning enmity between
herself and Jason, fled as suppliant
to Pelias . . .

In the usual version of the legend Jason had good reason to want Pelias out of the way, and it was at his instigation and for his benefit that Medea contrived the old man's death.[65] In Ovid's account Jason is a tacit accomplice in a slaughter devised by Medea *ne doli cessent*, conceived in pure wanton malice to keep her hand in. But the ruse does after all implicate Jason, and there may be a point in this apparently "weak transitional disclaimer";[66] other things being equal, it is a sound principle to assume that Ovid never misses a trick if there is one there to be taken. The word *doli* operates as a reminder of the part played by trickery and deceit throughout books 3 and 4 of the *Argonautica*;[67] of the 16 occurrences of the word δόλος in the poem 14 are in those books, and Medea is described by Hera (pot and kettle!) as δολόεσσα (*Arg.* 3.89). Ovid signals that he is continuing the story where Apollonius left off.

There is, however, one being in the Ovidian universe that Medea cannot dominate or resist: her creator, the poet himself. The instant she has plunged Pelias' body into the cauldron (*Met.* 7.348–9) Ovid whisks her away, without stopping to tell us what happened next, on an extraordinary aerial odyssey. Before the old man's daughters can have had time to take in what she has done, Medea is airborne on her way to Corinth. She is in the driving-seat, but it is Ovid who is in charge and reading the map. At one point her route takes her directly over her destination,[68] but there are many air-miles to be covered before she is allowed to land. She can whistle up the chariot of the Sun, but it is the poet who makes her take it where he sees fit in the furtherance of his own literary agenda. This is a flight of pure poetic invention, an excuse for a brilliant display of

[65] Pi. *P.* 4.108–16; E. *Med.* 483–9; *Arg.* 1.5–17, 3.1131–6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.27 and Frazer (1921) *ad loc.*, Hyg. *Fab.* 24; cf. Ov. *Her.* 12.129–34.

[66] Newlands (1997) 188.

[67] Holmberg (1998) 144–6.

[68] *Met.* 7.384–5. Not all commentators have taken the point, but cf. Anderson (1972) and Hill (1992) *ad loc.*

mythical erudition, rapidly surveying a series of places associated with some eighteen stories which for whatever reason he elects not to treat fully but which, by way also of drawing attention to his power of discrimination, he wishes his readers to know that he knows. In this expedition Medea is roped in as his accomplice in a *tour de force* of intertextual and mythographical manipulation[69] which cannot be explored in detail here.[70] Nowhere in the *Metamorphoses* do we encounter more strikingly embodied the poetic Archimage, the "intertextual god also known as P. Ovidius Naso".[71] Ovid, as we have seen, did not invent intertextuality, but his exploitation of its possibilities transcends anything imagined by his predecessors. More completely than any other poet he identifies himself with his poetry, his *maior imago* (*Tr.* 1.7.11–12).[72] What might on the face of it seem mere Alexandrian playfulness, "sheer academic fun",[73] understood in the context of his whole poetic career and his professions of faith at the end of the *Metamorphoses* and in exile, when poetry was all that was finally left to him,[74] represents an affirmation, oblique but in its implications profound, of the unique power of the poet to transform and illuminate the human condition.

[69] Though "she chiefly takes on the role of observer" (Newlands [1997] 190), several of the things she purports to see, such as the tomb of Paris (7.361), are not yet, in "real" mythological time, there to be seen. This is the poet's synoptical collapsing of mythical and real time at play once again.

[70] It is surprising to find Otis (1970) 173 dismissing this witty flight of fancy as "quite uninspired".

[71] Bloch (2000) 207. I am grateful to Mr Bloch for kindly allowing me to see his stimulating paper in advance of publication. It may be added that the ability to see time as a single indivisible continuum (above, nn. 42, 69) is one of the attributes of godhead.

[72] "Ovid purposely blurs any line between himself and his poetic creation" (Smith [1997] 7).

[73] Hunter (1989a) 21.

[74] *Met.* 15.871–9, *Tr.* 3.7.43–52. Cf. Kenney (1982) 446–8 = (1983) 150–2.

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ECHOES AND IMITATIONS OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS IN LATE GREEK EPIC

Francis Vian

A large number of papyri ranging in date from the 1st century B.C. to the 7th or 8th century A.D. confirm that the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius enjoyed continuous interest throughout antiquity.[1] Both Virgil in his *Aeneid* and Valerius Flaccus in his own *Argonautica* drew inspiration from it. The Argonautic story in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* is mainly based upon Apollonius (1.9.16–26), although Apollodorus normally draws on earlier sources. In the 4th or, perhaps, the 5th century an "orphic" poet composed an *Argonautica*, parts of which are heavily indebted to Apollonius.[2]

The subject of the following pages is the impact Apollonius had on three major epic poets of the imperial period, namely Quintus Smyrnaeus (Q.S.), Triphiodorus (Tr.) and Nonnus of Panopolis (N.). The enquiry is principally concerned with those themes or motifs of Apollonius which these three poets take up, more or less consciously, in their epics. It does not deal with questions of vocabulary nor does it claim to draw up a list of textual borrowings, which would have been inevitably incomplete.

I. *Quintus Smyrnaeus*

The legend of the Argonauts does not feature in the *Posthomerica*. Aietes, Medea and Colchis do not appear. The expedition is only hinted at twice, at 12.266–70 (the gathering of the Argonauts) and 4.383–93 (Jason and Hypsipyle: in the course of a mythological digression of Homeric origin, cf. *Il.* 7.467–9). We shall return to this point later on.

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[1] Cf. Vian (1974) lxxxviii–xc, and ([2]1993) xv. U. Wartenberg, P. Oxy. 4413–22 lists new papyri for *Argonautica*, book 1.

[2] Cf. Vian (1987b) 18–21 and the doctoral thesis of Venzke (1941).

A distinction has to be made between imitations and echoes within the frame of the epic genre in general and those related to the narrative proper, though of course the dividing line between the two is sometimes very thin.

1. *Epic themes*

A. *Nautical scenes*

The "departure of Argo" (*Arg.* 1.519–85) has been laid under contribution on three occasions to underpin the account of the voyage that brings Neoptolemos[3] and Philoktetes[4] to the Troad and for the departure of the Greek ships.[5] The landing in Tenedos features borrowings, some of them at the textual level, from Apollonius.[6] The storm of book 14 takes up motifs which occur throughout the *Argonautica.*[7]

B. *"Typical" scenes*

– Arming scenes. Penthesilea's arming (1.140 ff.) draws principally on Homer, but ἕσσατο . . . θώρηκα (1.144) comes from *Arg.* 3.1225 f. (the arming of Aietes).

– *Ecphrasis.* The *ecphrasis* of Jason's mantle (*Arg.* 1.728 ff.) forms the background to one of three *ecphraseis* in Quintus, that of Eurypylos' shield (6.198 ff.).[8]

– Funeral scenes. A formula peculiar to Apollonius σὺν ἔντεσι δινηθέντες (*Arg.* 1.1059 = 4.1535) is to be found split between Q.S. 3.695 σὺν ἔντεσιν ἐρρώσαντο[9] and 5.619 πέρι δινήσαντο.

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[3] Q.S. 7.392, 401–11 ~ *Arg.* 1.580–5. Cf. Vian (1966) 102 n. 3.

[4] Q.S. 9.442–3 ~ *Arg.* 1.572–4 (the dolphin motif). Homeric imitation is prevalent throughout the passage: cf. Vian (1966) 197 n. 2 (222); however, ὑπ' ἀμφοτέροισι πόδεσσι (438) reminds one of *Arg.* 2.932 ἐς πόδας ἀμφοτέρους.

[5] Q.S. 14. 370–82, 404–18 ~ *Arg.* 1.519–85. Cf. Vian (1959) 81–2; Vian (1969b) 167–8; 191 n. 4; 193 n. 3 (234). Line 380 repeats almost verbatim *Arg.* 1.885.

[6] Q.S. 12.345–9. Cf. the *ad loc.* notes of Campbell (1981b). Two nautical expressions come from *Arg.* 4.523, 661 f., 1713: εὐνὰς δ' ἔνθ' ἔβαλον, πείσματ' ἔδησαν/ ἠιόνων. The theme of the waiting warriors echoes two *clausulae* from a similar context in the *Argonautica* (2.1285 ἐελδομένοισι φαάνθη; 3.176 μίμνεθ' ἕκηλοι).

[7] Cf. Vian (1959) 82–3; Vian (1969b) 196 n. 3, 4, 8 (235); 199 n. 7 (235). Note esp. Q.S. 14.490 ἠλιβάτοισι δ' ἐοικότα κύματ' ὄρεσσιν ~ *Arg.* 2.169 (from *Od.* 3.290); 493 f. ὑψηλόν . . . φορέεσκε ~ *Arg.* 2.587; 497 ἀμηχανίῃ βεβολημένοι ~ *Arg.* 2.578; 4.1701 (the expression comes from a different context: cf. *Arg.* 3.432); 504 διέχευον ἄελλαι ~ *Arg.* 3.320; 578 f. μορμῦρον, ἀφρός ~ *Arg.* 1.542–3 (from *Il.* 5.599).

[8] Cf. Vian (1966) 75 n. 1.

[9] Other echoes: the sending of a messenger (Iris or Hermes) ἐς Αἴολον: Q.S. 3.699 ~ *Arg.* 4.764 f.

– Hospitality scenes. Memnon's reception by Priam (Q.S. 2.113–25) is modelled on two analogous Apollonian scenes. The initial formula ἀλλήλοις δ' ὀάριζον (cf. *Il.* 22.128) is a modification of *Arg.* 1.980 ἀλλήλους δ' ἐρέεινον (Jason's reception by Kyzikos); the ensuing conversation adheres to the pattern of Jason's encounter with Lykos (*Arg.* 2.761–72).[10]

C. *Similes*

Affinities and differences of taste are evident in the way Quintus draws inspiration from Apollonius' similes. It is noticeable that he ignores Apollonius' Alexandrian similes, esp. those related to the feminine world: see, for instance, *Arg.* 1.269 ff.; 3.291 ff., 656 ff.; 4.167 ff.[11] In general, Quintus is concerned only with such similes as belong to the epic tradition, extending them by some new feature.[12] There are some twenty instances, which may be divided into five classes:

(a) repetition of an *incipit*: Q.S. 7.317–24 (of a horseman riding a spirited horse) ὡς δ' ὅτε τις θοὸν ἵππον . . . ~ *Arg.* 4.1604;[13] Q.S. 12.489–94 (of little birds in their nest) ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐρημαίην . . . ~ *Arg.* 4.1298.[14]

(b) repetition of an expression: Q.S. 1.277 λέων ὡς πώεσι μήλων ~ *Arg.* 4.486; Q.S. 1.698 ἐπικτυπέουσι δὲ βῆσσαι; 4.240 περὶ δὲ βρομέουσι κολῶναι; 7.259 περιβρομέουσι κολῶναι ~ *Arg.* 4.1340 ὑποβρομέουσιν . . . βῆσσαι;[15] Q.S. 3.578–80 (snow-melting) πίδακος . . . /πετραίης ~ *Arg.* 4.1456;[16] Q.S. 11.383 περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι = *Arg.* 1.879.[17]

(c) renewal of a Homeric simile: Q.S. 1.209–10 (a forest fire) ~ *Arg.* 1.1027–8;[18] Q.S. 1.345–6; 2.536–7; 3.325–7; 5.409–10 (leaves falling in autumn) ~ *Arg.* 4.216–7;[19] Q.S. 2.208–10 (sunrise) ~ *Arg.*

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[10] The subjects of the conversation are similar: genealogical information; recollection of the past. There are echoes of several formulae: Q.S. 2.121 ἠδὲ καὶ ὡς ~ *Arg.* 2.770; Q.S. 2.125 τέρπετο θυμός ~ *Arg.* 2.761, 772. The episode in book 6 (119–50) repeats the same themes; however, Quintus draws inspiration mainly from previous scenes: cf. Vian (1966) 71 n. 7 (211).

[11] Only one simile features a woman (Q.S. 1.86–7, Penthesileia): Quintus feminizes the motif of the son who comes back after a long absence (*Od.* 16.17–8; Q.S. 7.637–9).

[12] On Quintus' similes cf. Vian (1954).

[13] Cf. Vian (1966) 118 n. 1.

[14] Cf. Vian (1954) 41. The subject of the two similes is different.

[15] The text of the *Argonautica* has been restored from Quintus. The majority of the mss. has ὑποτρομέουσιν: cf. Vian (1954) 39 n. 2; Vian (^{2}1996) 193.

[16] Cf. Vian (1954) 39 n. 2.

[17] The context is rather different: cf. Vian (1969b) 64 n. 1.

[18] Cf. Vian (1954) 35; Vian (1963b) 20 n. 4.

[19] Cf. Vian (1954) 32.

3.1229–30;[20] Q.S. 4.237–8 (a fight between bulls) ~ *Arg.* 2.88; Q.S. 4.245 (a foaming muzzle) ~ *Arg.* 3.1352–3; for the latter cf. also Q.S. 5.373 (a raging beast); 7.319 (an impatient horse);[21] Q.S. 6.396–8 (a wounded beast in rage) ~ *Arg.* 2.123–8;[22] Q.S. 13.44–8 (a hungry wolf attacking the fold) ~ *Arg.* 2.123–8.[23]

(d) rearrangement of a simile peculiar to Apollonius: Q.S. 3.221–6 (smoking out the bees) ~ *Arg.* 2.130–4;[24] Q.S. 6.107–11 (toiling oxen) ~ *Arg.* 2.662–7.[25]

(e) original simile suggested by the *Arg.*: Q.S. 9.451–6 (a half-hewn pine) ~ *Arg.* 4.1682–6;[26] Q.S. 14.75–9 (a wheatfield drooping to the ground after hail) ~ *Arg.* 3.1399–403 (cf. Q.S. 14.74 κατημάλδυνε, 14.77 ἔραζε ~ *Arg.* 1400 κατημύουσιν ἔραζε; Q.S. 14.79 ~ *Arg.* 1401b).

D. *Mythology, Geography, Anthroponyms*

(a) Mythology. Quintus is particularly indebted to two Apollonian mythological narratives:

– Orpheus. *Arg.* 1.23–31 ~ Q.S. 3.637–41.[27] Apollonius' text has also contributed to the song of Apollo and the Muses in 3.103–5 and 4.141–3; the complaints of Ida and the rivers (12. 181–2) echo *Arg.* 1.27.

– Phaethon. *Arg.* 4.596–611 ~ Q.S. 5.625–30 (digression on amber); 10.192–4 (Phaethon's fall). The nauseating emanations from Paphlagoneios, the river born of Memnon's blood (Q.S. 2.564–6), recall *Arg.* 4.600 (although there are no textual similarities).[28]

There is a number of other more or less probable echoes:

– Achilles in the Elysian Fields: *Arg.* 4.811 (from *Od.* 4. 563) ~ Q.S. 14.224.

– The Amazons: *Arg.* 2.987–90 ~ Q.S. 1.456–61. Cf. *Arg.* 2.989 καὶ Ἄρεος ἔργα μεμήλει ~ Q.S. 1.457 καὶ ὅσ' ἀνέρες ἔργα πένονται (*coni. plures*: πέλονται codd.).[29]

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[20] Cf. Vian (1963b) 63 n. 3.

[21] Cf. Vian (1954) 32 n. 2; Vian (1963b) 145 n. 3 (177).

[22] Cf. Vian (1954) 31; Vian (1966) 83 n. 1.

[23] Cf. Vian (1969b) 130 n. 3 (224).

[24] Cf. Cuypers (1997) 158–63.

[25] The same context (oarsmen in action). Cf. Vian (1954) 33; Vian (1966) 71 n. 5 (211).

[26] Cf. Vian (1966) 198 n. 2; Livrea (1973) 462 (on *Arg.* 4.1682).

[27] Cf. Vian (1959) 33 n. 4.

[28] Cf. Vian (1966) 43 n. 1. The river's name is to be associated with that of the Παφλαγόνες (*Arg.* 2.358). In the same passage 570 f. echo *Arg.* 2.98 (of the army refusing to leave the dead king).

[29] I would now read μέλονται on the basis of the *Argonautica* passage.

– The Erinyes: cf. *Arg.* 4.713–4 ~ Q.S. 1.28–9 with the repetition of σμερδαλέας . . . Ἐρινύας.

– The Hesperides fleeing before Herakles: Q.S. 6.256–9 takes up and seems to recast *Arg.* 4.1396–9, 1406–9.

– The fire-breathing bull: Q.S. 6.236–7; cf., perhaps, *Arg.* 3.1292 πυρὸς σέλας ἀμπνείοντες, 1297 κρατεροῖσιν . . . κεράεσσιν.

(b) Geography. Quintus is independent of Apollonius with regard to geography, although he borrows οὔρεα Παφλαγόνων (6.473) from *Arg.* 4.300, while ἐν κορυφῇσι/Πηλίου αἰπεινοῖο (8.160 f.) seems to recall *Arg.* 1.520 Πηλίου αἰπεινὰς . . . ἄκριας (from *h.Ap.* 33). For the description of the river Parthenios and Herakleia's cave which communicates with Hell there is a parallel in *Argonautica* book 2. Yet Quintus, rather than following *Arg.* 2.936–7, refers to the river's calm flow in Homeric terms. Also, far from emphasizing the terrifying aspect of the cave (*Arg.* 2.353–6, 727–51) he celebrates its charm through recollection of the Nymphs' cave in *Od.* 13.103–12. It is hard to say whether he wished to give Apollonius' digression a Homeric turn or simply ignored it.[30]

c) Anthroponyms. The two poets share one anthroponym which occurs in two identical hemistichs: *Arg.* 1.1042 Πηλεὺς δὲ Ζέλυν εἷλεν ~ Q.S. 10.125 Τεῦκρος δὲ Ζέλυν εἷλε.[31]

2. *Echoes and imitations in the narrative*

The battle scenes occupy a considerable part of the *Posthomerica*, offering but a few points of contact with the narrative of the Argonautic expedition. However, when he has the opportunity to do so, Quintus does not fail to refer to the *Argonautica*. The following are some of the most notable instances:

A. Book 4. The boxing match (Q.S. 4.329–69) borrows a number of features from the fight of Polydeukes against Amykos in *Arg.* 2.25–97. Here are the principal textual parallels: Q.S. 4.333 ἀζαλέους ἱμάντας ~ *Arg.* 2.52 f.; Q.S. 4.343 f. χεῖρας ἑὰς πειρώμενοι . . . /ὡς πρὶν ἐυτρόχαλοι . . . βαρύθοιεν ~ *Arg.* 2.46 f.; Q.S. 4.346 ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοις δὲ πόδεσσι ~ *Arg.* 2.90; Q.S. 4.353–5 περικτυπέοντο γένεια,

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[30] Cf. Vian (1959) 128 f.; Vian (1966) 86 n. 3. There is no textual echo; only καταιβασίαι (Q.S. 6.484) may echo καταιβάτις (*Arg.* 2.353).

[31] The first Zelys comes from Kyzikos, the second from Latmos.

μετώπων, ἱδρώς, παρειάς ~ *Arg.* 2.82 f., 86 f.; Q.S. 4.360 ἱδρείῃσι ~ *Arg.* 2.72; Q.S. 4.363 βαρείῃ χειρί ~ *Arg.* 2.68 f.[32] The combat ends with the awarding of the prizes. The poet recounts the story of the two craters designed by Hephaistos, formerly in the possession of Dionysos and Hypsipyle (Q.S. 4.381–93). His model is *Il.* 7.467–9, but he has also in mind the story of the Charites' robe which, according to *Arg.* 4.423–34, had been transferred from Dionysos to Jason through the agency of Hypsipyle. At 4.388 f. he almost repeats the text of *Arg.* 4.433 f.

The Amykos episode has left other traces in the poem too. The evocation of Troilos in 4.431 f. seems to echo *Arg.* 2.43 f. At Q.S. 5.392 (Aias' rage), βρυχὴ δὲ περὶ γναθμοῖσιν ὀρώρει is a variation upon *Arg.* 2.83.[33] The way the Aithiopians react after the death of Memnon (Q.S. 2.570 f.) recalls the reaction of the Bebrykes following the death of Amykos (*Arg.* 2.98 οὐδ' ἄρα Βέβρυκες ἄνδρες ἀφείδησαν βασιλῆος).

B. Book 7. The portrayal of Medea's distress serves to evoke Podaleirios' despair after his brother's death (Q.S. 7.22–6 ~ *Arg.* 3.806 f.; 4.20–3),[34] and further down, toward the end of the book, the despair of Deidameia (Q.S. 7.336–43 ~ *Arg.* 4.26–33). Neoptolemos departing and taking leave of his mother (Q.S. 7.253–61, 288–91, 313–6, 346, 352, 365–7, 392 f.) draws freely on a similar situation in Apollonius, where Jason takes leave of his mother Alkimede (*Arg.* 1.234–306, 580 f.); particularly close are the two women's laments, each interrupted by a long simile (Q.S. 7.255–61 ~ *Arg.* 1.268–77).[35] As a whole, the textual similarities are few and far between; cf., however, Q.S. 7.352 ~ *Arg.* 1.237.[36] On Neoptolemos' sea-crossing cf. above n. 3.

C. Book 9. The embassy despatched to Lemnos serves as a pretext for recalling the legend of the Lemnian women: Q.S. 9.338–52 ~ *Arg.* 1.609–19, 798–833. There are numerous textual echoes: Q.S. 9.339, 347 ~ *Arg.* 611, 804; Q.S. 9.341 ~ *Arg.* 806; Q.S. 9.344, 348

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[32] For a fuller list see Vian (1959) 39, 97; Vian (1963b) 150 n. 2.

[33] For βρυχή cf. Cuypers (1997) *ad loc.*

[34] Φάρμακον αἰνόν (Q.S. 7.26) comes from *Arg.* 3.1169, where however the talk is about the drug that will save Jason.

[35] It is noteworthy that Alkimede is compared to a girl maltreated by her stepmother, whereas Deidameia is likened to a cow who has lost her calf.

[36] For details cf. Kehmptzow (1889) 32 f.; also Vian (1966) 101 f.

~ *Arg.* 616; Q.S. 9.345 f. ~ *Arg.* 617; Q.S. 9.347 ~ *Arg.* 611.[37] The portrayal of Philoktetes' misfortune borrows some features from Apollonius' Phineus (*Arg.* 2.200–7, 301–2): cf. esp. Q.S. 9.371 f. and *Arg.* 2.201.[38] On Philoktetes' sea-crossing cf. above n. 4.

D. Book 10. Oinone's secret departure during the night (Q.S. 10.438–57) is a clear allusion to Medea's flight in *Arg.* 4.40–66. In each scene, the women are sighted by Selene, Medea maliciously, Oinone with sympathy (*oppositio in imitando*). On this particular occasion, the two poets recall Selene's love for Endymion. There are two textual echoes: Q.S. 10.440 φέρον δέ μιν ὠκέα γυῖα ~ *Arg.* 4.66 τὴν δ' αἶψα πόδες φέρον ἐγκονέουσαν; and esp. Q.S. 10.454–7 τὴν δέ που εἰσορόωσα τόθ' ὑψόθε δῖα Σελήνη/μνησαμένη . . . Ἐνδυμίωνος ~ *Arg.* 4.54–60 τὴν δὲ νέον . . . ἀνερχομένη περάτηθεν/. . . ἐσιδοῦσα θεὰ . . . Μήνη/. . . Ἐνδυμίωνι/. . . /μνησαμένη . . .[39]

E. Book 11. When the Greeks form the testudo to attack the Trojan walls (Q.S. 11.358–75) Q.S. recalls the Argonauts on board their ship having recourse to the *synaspismos* in order to fend off the arrows launched by Ares' birds (*Arg.* 2.1058–89). There are numerous similarities, although the textual echoes are limited to a handful of terms: Q.S. 11.360 ἀσπίδας ἐντύναντο ~ *Arg.* 2.1076 ἀσπίσι νῆα συναρτύναντες; Q.S. 11.362 ἕρκος ~ *Arg.* 2.1073 ἑρκίον; Q.S. 11.363 πυκνόν ~ *Arg.* 2.1083, 1088 πυκινήν; Q.S. 11.366 καρτύναντο ~ *Arg.* 2.1087 ἐκαρτύναντο; Q.S. 11.375 δοῦπον = *Arg.* 2.1067. Cf. further Q.S. 11.361 μιῇ . . . ὁρμῇ ~ *Arg.* 3.1310. The simile of the roof tiles protecting from wind and rain echoes two analogous Apollonian similes, namely *Arg.* 2.1073–5, 1083–7.[40]

F. Book 12. It is in this book that echoes are more evident and numerous: the building and hauling of the wooden horse brings naturally to mind the ship Argo.

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[37] Cf. Vian (1959) 112, 169; Vian (1966) 193 n. 2–3. The Lemnos episode is used also in 12.353–7: cf. below n. 46.

[38] Cf. D.A. van Krevelen, *Mnemosyne* 6 (1953) 50 f.; Vian (1966) 177 n. 2.

[39] The moon is high in the *Posthomerica*, whereas it is just above the horizon in the *Argonautica*. For more detail cf. Vian (1969b) 34 n. 5 (210). On the other sources of Q.S. (Euripides' *Suppl.*) cf. R. Goossens, *RBPhH* 11 (1932) 679–89 (and Vian [1969b] 11 n. 5).

[40] Cf. Vian (1959) 54; Vian (1969b) 45 n. 2; 63 n. 1 and 7 (214).

(a) 12.422–34. Q.S. draws an explicit comparison between the hauling of the horse and the ship. He does not name Argo, yet in 12.430 f. he almost repeats the phrasing of *Arg.* 1.388 f. In fact, the whole episode is a variation on *Arg.* 1.363–90 and comprises numerous textual echoes, most notably: Q.S. 12.427 ἑλκόμενος . . . ὑπὸ χείρεσιν ~ *Arg.* 1.373; Q.S. 12.428 ἐπιβρίσαντες ~ *Arg.* 1.384; Q.S. 12.431 τρόπις ~ *Arg.* 1.388; Q.S. 12.432 ὀλισθαίνουσα ~ *Arg.* 1.377, 390.[41]

(b) 12.104–16, 266–70. Before this very obvious allusion, there are two other narratives which point to the beginning of *Argonautica* book 1 in a more or less indirect way. Quintus expands on the building of the horse. The passage owes nothing to the handful of lines Apollonius devotes to the same subject, but when Quintus recalls that Athena was Epeios' assistant, αὐτὴ συγκαμέειν (12.111), he takes up the same verb used by Apollonius in the same context (*Arg.* 1, 19, 111).[42] Later, after the building has been completed, Nestor, in an effort to induce the heroes to get into the horse's womb, volunteers to do so despite his age and remembers how as a young man he wished to get on board the Argo but was stopped by Pelias (Q.S. 12.266–70). This is the only allusion to the Argonautic expedition in the poem. As Campbell has pointed out,[43] Quintus takes the opposite line to Apollonius: Pelias, the king hated by Jason, is "equal to the gods", ἀντίθεος (12.270) and Nestor obeys him against his will, unlike Acastus who joins Jason Πελίαο παρὲκ νόον (*Arg.* 1.323). However, despite his independence vis-à-vis his model, Quintus does Apollonius homage in that he uses the latter's very words: Αἴσονος υἱός (*Arg.*: nine times), νεός . . . Ἀργῴης (*Arg.*: four times),[44] ἀριστέας, ἀριστήων (*Arg.*, *passim*).[45]

(c) Other echoes. These do not invite the reader to establish parallels with Apollonius; they just suggest that Quintus has the latter's epic in mind and draws on it, consciously or not. The following are the principal instances:

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[41] Cf. Vian (1969b) 105 n. 7 (220). At Q.S. 12.434 πανσυδίῃ μογέοντες ἀνείρυον echoes *Arg.* 1.1162 (Argonauts oaring).

[42] Before that, when the goddess visits Epeios in his dream, Q.S. does not use the traditional Homeric formulae, but at 12.109 (ἔστη ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς) he takes up the phrase which Apollonius uses in 4.1350, when the Libyan goddesses appear to Jason.

[43] Cf. Campbell (1981b) 90; Vian (1969b) 99 n. 2.

[44] These two "formulae" appear only here in the *Posthomerica*.

[45] In other passages the Achaean chiefs receive the titles given by Apollonius to the Argonauts: 247 Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατοι υἷες ~ *Arg.* 4.1383; 305 ἡρώων οἱ ἄριστοι = *Arg.* 4.1307.

– 12.345–57. On the landing in Tenedos and the waiting soldiers (Q.S. 12.345–9) cf. above n. 6. The soldiers within the horse wonder about what is going to happen (Q.S. 12.350 f.) just as Medea hesitates about her course of action in *Arg.* 3.766 f. Then the Trojans rush to the shore (Q.S. 12.353–7), just as the Lemnian women do on the arrival of Argo (*Arg.* 1.633–9); note esp. ἐπέδραμον αἰγιαλοῖσι ~ *Arg.* 1.635 and the δέος motif ~ *Arg.* 1.639.[46]

– 12.405–18. A sharp pain pierces Laokoon's head (405 f.): similar anatomical details occur in the account of the pain that tortures Medea's brain (*Arg.* 3.761–4). The people take pity on Laokoon (12.415 ff.) just as Zetes does in the case of Phineus: Quintus takes up two Apollonian expressions: 12.417 παρήλιτον ἀφραδίῃσι, 418 νόος ἔνδον ~ *Arg.* 2.246, 248.[47]

– 12.442 f. The Trojans marvel at the sight of the horse; there is a similar formulation in *Arg.* 1.550 f., where the nymphs of Pelion are filled with wonder at the sailing Argo.

– 12.472–6. Laokoon and his sons faced with the serpents. Quintus repeats a verbal form peculiar to Apollonius (ἔλειπτο) and two expressions: 12.474 ὑποτρομέοντας ὄλεθρον ~ *Arg.* 2.1106; 12.475 ὀλοῇσιν . . . γένυσσι = *Arg.* 4.155 (on the monster guarding the fleece).

– 12.500–16. Sacrifices and prodigies following Laokoon's death. There are numerous borrowings: Q.S. 12.500 ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπεντύνοντο θυηλάς ~ *Arg.* 2.156 f.; Q.S. 12.501 λείβοντες μέθυ λαρόν ~ *Arg.* 1.534 + 456; Q.S. 12.503 ἱερά . . . καίοντο ~ *Arg.* 2.1175; Q.S. 12.505 καπνός . . . ἀνεκήκιε ~ *Arg.* 4.600; Q.S. 12.509 ἔκποθεν ἀπροφάτοιο ~ *Arg.* 2.224, *al.* ἔκποθεν ἀφράστοιο; Q.S. 12.511 (miraculous opening of the gates) ~ *Arg.* 4.41. The list of prodigies (Q.S. 12.507 f., 514–6: weeping statues, flowing blood, mysterious sounds, abnormal phenomena in the sky) is comparable to *Arg.* 4.1284–7.[48]

– 12.567 f. Kassandra wishes to burn the horse, just as Medea wishes to set Argo on fire (*Arg.* 4.391 f.).[49]

G. Book 14. Nestor's speech, inviting the army to return to Greece after victory (Q.S. 14.338–45), shows no debt to Jason's corresponding

[46] Cf. Campbell (1981b) 116.
[47] On this passage cf. Vian (1969b) 105 n. 3 (219 f.), correcting Vian (1959) 169 f.
[48] Cf. Vian (1959) 70; Vian (1969b) 108 n. 7; 109 n. 4 (222).
[49] Cf. Campbell (1981b) 191 on κεδάσσαι which corresponds to Apollonius' κεάσσαι.

speech in *Arg.* 4.190–205; however, two turns of expression are borrowed from Apollonius: Q.S. 14.339 ἔπος θυμηδὲς ἐνίσπω = *Arg.* 1.705 (and 714); Q.S. 14.340 νόστοιο . . . θυμηδέος ὥρη ~ *Arg.* 1.249 νόστοιο τέλος θυμηδές (cf. also *Arg.* 4.381, 1600).[50] On the maritime scenes and the description of the tempest cf. above nn. 5 and 7.

II. *Triphiodorus*

1. *Echoes and imitations in the narrative*

Triphiodorus draws inspiration from Apollonius in some thirty passages, most of which are to be found in the first 500 lines which correspond to Quintus' book 12.[51] The techniques of imitation employed by Quintus and Triphiodorus are comparable, although the latter is careful to make himself distinct from his predecessor.

A. Like Quintus Triphiodorus refers to the first part of *Argonautica* book 1, though he names neither Argo nor Jason. He shuns the grand Homeric comparison between the Horse and a ship being hauled (Q.S. 12.428–34). He is content to make a brief comparison between the horse's womb and a ship's hull (63 f.), and boldly characterizes Epeios' work as an "equine ship", ἱππείην ὁλκάδα (185).[52] In referring to the help given by Athena to Epeios, he alludes to *Arg.* 1.226 Ἄργος . . . θεᾶς ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης and writes (57) θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειός. In describing the hauling of the horse, he draws, much as Quintus does but independently of him, on *Arg.* 1.363–90. For the most part, he limits himself to taking up certain terms: 320 τριβόμενοι . . . ἀνέστενον (regarding the wheel-axles) ~ *Arg.* 1.388 f. στενάχοντο . . ./τριβόμεναι (regarding the rollers used instead of wheels); 322 λιγνύν ~ *Arg.* 1.389; 330 εἵπετο . . . ἵππος ~ *Arg.* 1.386 ἕσπετο . . . Ἀργώ; 332 ἐπιβρίσασα ~ *Arg.* 1.384 βρίσαντε.[53]

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[50] Θυμηδές at 14.339 is as problematic as in *Arg.* 1.705 where it has been conjectured by Fränkel. On this problem cf. Vian (1969b) 190 n. 1; Vian (1967) 256 f.

[51] Cf. the notes of Gerlaud (1982), and the supplementary observations of Campbell, *JHS* 104 (1984) 220.

[52] On the comparison between the horse and a ship cf. Gerlaud (1982) 77 n. 5 and 135 n. on 318–22.

[53] On this episode cf. Gerlaud (1982) 135 f. n. on 318–22, 330, 331, 332, as well as Campbell (1981b) 146 f. n. on Q.S. 12.423 f.

B. In the rest of the poem imitation is quite free. As with Quintus, the echoes and borrowings tend to cluster in certain narrative passages, notably in the Sinon episode which replaces that of Laokoon.

(a) Tr. 57 ff.: construction and *ecphrasis* of the horse. Tr. 58 πελώριον ἵππον, 66 χρυσῷ, 67 μετήορος αὐχένι ~ *Arg.* 4.1365 f. (the prodigious horse that appears to the Argonauts in Libya) πελώριος . . . ἵππος, /. . . χρυσέῃσι μετήορος αὐχένα χαίταις; Tr. 62 ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν ~ *Arg.* 1.946 (monstrous Earthborn of Kyzikos); Tr. 73f. (a horse biting the bit) ~ *Arg.* 4.1607 f. (description of a spirited horse within a simile).

(b) Tr. 139–45: Odysseus invites the ships to set sail. Tr. 139 πρυμναῖα μεθίετε πείσματα νηῶν ~ *Arg.* 4.208 (Jason cutting the hawsers) πρυμναῖα νεὼς ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψεν; Tr. 143 εὐόρμου τετανυσμένον ἐκ περιωπῆς ~ *Arg.* 4.900 εὐόρμου δεδοκημέναι ἐκ περιωπῆς (the Sirens episode).

(c) Tr. 235 ff.: the Trojans come down from the city. Tr. 241 οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξαντες ἀπήναις ~ *Arg.* 3.841 οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξασθαι ἀπήνῃ (Medea leaving the palace); Tr. 245 f. οὐ μὲν ἔμελλον/γηθήσειν ἐπὶ δηρόν, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή ~ *Arg.* 3.1133 f. οὐ μὲν δηρὸν . . . ἔμελλεν/. . . · ὣς γὰρ τόδε μήδετο Ἥρη (Medea's misery).

(d) Tr. 262 ff.: Sinon's entreaties draw on the Apollonian scene in which the shipwrecked sons of Phrixos appeal to the Argonauts (*Arg.* 2.1123 ff.). Tr. 278 ~ *Arg.* 1131 f.; Tr. 288–90 ~ *Arg.* 1137–9; Tr. 304 f. ~ *Arg.* 1168. Cf. also Tr. 299 ~ *Arg.* 4.1307.[54]

(e) Tr. 522–5: the Greek ships set sail when Sinon gives the fire signal, just as Medea signals the Argonauts with a torch (*Arg.* 4.482–5). There are some more echoes in the same passage: Tr. 515 οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα = *Arg.* 4.615; Tr. 523 νῆας ἀνεκρούσαντο ~ *Arg.* 4.1650 νῆα . . . ἀνακρούεσκον; Tr. 525 πολέμοιο τέλος διζήμενος εὑρεῖν ~ *Arg.* 4.1282 λοιμοῖο τέλος ποτιδέγμενοι.[55]

2. *Epic themes*

A. Similes. Triphiodorus borrows two similes from Apollonius: Tr. 360–4 (a heifer stung by a gadfly) ~ *Arg.* 1.1265–9 (note esp. Tr. 362 f. ~ *Arg.* 1267a); Tr. 615–7 (a wolf attacking the fold) ~ *Arg.*

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[54] On this passage cf. Gerlaud (1982) 24 and n. 3.

[55] Cf. the notes of Gerlaud *ad loc.* ([1982] 152).

2.123–8 (and for the *incipit*, *Arg.* 3.1058 καρχαλέοι κύνες ὥς). Like Quintus, Triphiodorus only borrows from Apollonius similes of Homeric origin.

B. Nightfall. In epic narrative generally nightfall plays a pivotal role. In Triphiodorus it announces the beginning of the sack of Troy (Tr. 498–505), just as in Apollonius it comes before the nocturnal torment that determines Medea's final course of action (*Arg.* 3.744–50). Triphiodorus gives proof of originality, but Tr. 504 (οὐδ' ὑλακὴ σκυλάκων, σιγή) clearly refers the reader to the famous *Argonautica* passage.

III. *Nonnus of Panopolis*

Unlike his predecessors, Nonnus makes precise references to the Argonautica saga, and, by a technique peculiar to him, he sometimes cites his source in a disguised way. The catalogue of book 13 compares Laokoon, young Hymenaios' guardian, with Phoenix who had once (πάρος) accompanied Meleager, still an adolescent, on "Argo, Jason's ship", in order to sail to the land of the Colchians, εἰς χθόνα Κόλχων (13.85–9 ~ *Arg.* 1.190–3): πάρος can only hint at Apollonius' earlier poem, since the Argonautic expedition comes after that of Dionysos.[56] At 29.197–204 the brass-hoofed colts of the Kabeiroi, Hephaistos' sons, are compared with the bulls made by Hephaistos for Aietes. There is nothing like the πάρος of 13.87 here, but Nonnus points clearly to his source through textual borrowings from *Arg.* 3.229 τεχνήεις Ἥφαιστος, 230 χαλκόποδας ταύρους κάμε, 232 ἀδάμαντος, 1318 ἰστοβοῆα. The *Dionysiaca* contain several references to Aietes and the Colchians; like Apollonius, Nonnus notes that the former is Kirke's brother (13.331 ~ *Arg.* 3.310 f.) while the latter are at war with the Sauromates (23.86–8 ~ *Arg.* 3.352 f.).[57]

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[56] Likewise, πάλιν at N. 24.296 refers to the text of the *Odyssee* which serves as a model.

[57] Apollonius' formula ἔθνεα Κόλχων (*ter*) is repeated at 13.248 ἔθνεα βάρβαρα Κόλχων. As usual, Nonnus uses other sources too. His Colchians, called also Asterioi, are identical to the Taurians; their land borders Tanais and is not different from Skythia: cf. N. 13.245–52; 23.85–8; 40.284–91. According to him Kirke dwells in Sicily (13.328–32) and not in the Italian island of Aiaie (*Arg.* 3.309–13).

Such allusions are limited in number, but serve to suggest a claim on Nonnus' part that Apollonius is, along with Callimachus, one of his favourite models, although, unlike Homer (or Pindar for that matter), he is not mentioned by name in the *Dionysiaca*.[58]

In its first part (epic themes), the account of his borrowings and echoes will follow the plan adopted above for Quintus, so that similarities and differences between the two poets may clearly stand out.

1. *Epic themes*

A. *Nautical scenes*

Nonnus borrows his nautical terms from Apollonius: apart from λαῖφος, already employed by Quintus, cf. κάλως, κεραίη, πρυμναῖος. He also draws inspiration from Apollonius' expressions even where his principal model is Homer, as in the account of the building of Dionysos' fleet (36.403–10 ~ *Od.* 5.248–54). Cf. 407 f. μεσόδμῃ /... ἱστόν ... ὠρθώσατο τέκτων ~ *Arg.* 1.563 ἱστὸν ἐνεστήσαντο μεσόδμῃ; 408 f. (λαῖφος associated with ἱστὸς) ~ *Arg.* 1.329; 409 λαίφεϊ πεπταμένῳ ~ *Arg.* 4.299, 1623.

Other instances: 4.227 = 7.47 πείσματα λύσας ~ *Arg.* 2.536; 39.217 ἀνελύσατο πείσματα νηῶν ~ *Arg.* 1.652 πείσματα νηὸς ἔλυσαν; 39.321 πηδαλίοιο διέξυσεν ἄκρα κορύμβου ~ *Arg.* 2.601 ἀφλάστοιο παρέθρισαν ἄκρα κόρυμβα; 4.233 f. (the fiancée kept on the poop) ἐπὶ πρύμνῃ .../ ... ἵδρυσε κούρην ~ *Arg.* 4.188 πρύμνῃ δ' ἐνεείσατο κούρην; 32.160 (sailors in danger of shipwreck) ἐπέτρεπον ἐλπίδα πόντῳ ~ *Arg.* 4.1700 f. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ θαλάσσῃ/νόστον.

B. *Typical scenes and other epic motifs*

– Boxing. Like Quintus,[59] Nonnus has in mind the fight of Polydeukes against Amykos (*Arg.* 2.1 ff.) when he recounts the boxing match during the funeral games (N. 37.500 ff.).[60] Principal echoes: N. 37.507 ἀζαλέων ... ἱμάντων ~ *Arg.* 2.52 f.; N. 37.511 ~ *Arg.* 2.75 f. (no textual parallel); N. 37.526 ~ *Arg.* 2.94 (cf. Q.S. 4.347); N. 37.527 χερσὶ δὲ χεῖρας ἔμιξαν ~ *Arg.* 2.78; N. 37.531 γενύων ... δοῦπος ~ *Arg.* 2.82 f.; N. 37.538 ὑπ' οὔατος ~ *Arg.* 2.95 ὑπὲρ οὔατος.

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[58] On books 44–6 see now Tissoni (1998) 16 and 23 n. 75.

[59] Cf. above 289 f. The boxing episode here is considered an "epic theme", as it could not be included in part 2.

[60] Cf. Frangoulis (1999) notes *ad loc.*

– Dance. The armed dancing: N. 28.291, 293, 296 ~ *Arg.* 1.1135–6 σκαίροντες . . . ἐνόπλιον εἱλίσσοντο,/καὶ σάκεα ξιφέεσσιν ἐπέκτυπον.[61]

– Dawn and twilight. *Arg.* 1.516–23 (boarding the ship early at dawn after lunch and sleep) ~ N. 3.51–60.[62] Semidarkness during twilight or at dawn: *Arg.* 2.670 f. λεπτὸν . . ./φέγγος ~ N. 18.156.

– Death. Staphylos' sudden demise recalls that of Tiphys: 19.6 κατεύνασεν . . . ὕπνος, followed by νούσῳ (19.9) echoes *Arg.* 2.856 εὔνασε νοῦσος. Cf. also *Arg.* 4.1060, 1110 εὔνασεν ὕπνος.

– Dream. Someone's sudden awakening by sounds heard in a dream: N. 18.172–4; 20.99 f. ~ *Arg.* 3.632. In N. 18.175 φόβον . . . ὀνείρου brings to mind *Arg.* 4.685 δείματα . . . ὀνείρων.

– *Ecphrasis* of Jason's mantle (*Arg.* 1.721–68). Nonnus recalls this *ecphrasis* in the episode of Aphrodite working at the loom (N. 24.242 ff.),[63] and later, in the next book, in the *ecphrasis* of Dionysos' shield. The building of the Theban walls by Amphion and Zethos is a variation on an analogous scene on Jason's mantle (N. 25.417–21 ~ *Arg.* 1.735–41).[64] Nonnus adds to his description a motif employed by Apollonius in another scene: you might think you actually listened to Amphion's phorminx just as, on Jason's mantle, you might think you heard the ram speaking: N. 25.424–8 ~ *Arg.* 1.765–7. Finally, the line concluding the whole *ecphrasis* of the shield (N. 25.563) echoes the parallel line in *Arg.* 1.768 τοῖ' ἄρα δῶρα.

– Old people. When he brings on the scene old Aion (N. 7.41–4), Hera transformed into a nurse (8.200–3) and Silenos (N. 10.159; 11.354; 14.101 f.), Nonnus has in mind the descriptions of old Polyxo, Hypsipyle's nurse (*Arg.* 1.668–74), and Phineus (*Arg.* 2.198–200). Here he preserves three motives: (a) the old-people's staff (7.44 γηροκόμῳ . . . ἐρείδεται ἠθάδι βάκτρῳ; 11.354 γηροκόμῳ νάρθηκι . . . στηρίζετο βάκτρῳ; 14.101 f. γηροκόμοις ῥοπάλοισι, δέμας κουφίζετο βάκτρῳ ~ *Arg.* 1.670 βάκτρῳ ἐρειδομένη; 2.198 βάκτρῳ σκηπτόμενος; (b) the bent back (κυφός; cf. *Od.* 2.16) of the old man (7.43; 8.202 f. ~ *Arg.* 1.674); (c) his trembling limbs (7.43; 8.201 f. ~ *Arg.* 2.199 f.).

– Omen. The statue sweating blood: *Arg.* 4.1284–5 αὐτόματα ξόανα ῥέῃ ἱδρώοντα/αἵματι ~ N. 44.42–5 ἀμφὶ δὲ θεῖον ἄγαλμα . . ./αὐτομάτῃ ῥαθάμιγγι . . . ἔβλυεν ἱδρώς/. . . /βρέτας Ἄρεος ἔρρεε λύθρῳ.

[61] Cf. Vian (1990) n. on N. 28.292–5 (329 f.).

[62] Cf. Chuvin (1976) n. on N. 3.51 (135 f.). There are no textual echoes.

[63] Cf. Hopkinson (1994) 159 f.

[64] On the details cf. Vian (1990) n. on N. 25.414–21 (262).

– Sacrifice. The sacrifice of the cow by Kadmos (N. 5.5–20) is drawn from Homer; however, Nonnus seems also to recall the sacrifice offered by the Argonauts (*Arg.* 1.425 ff.), in which two agents are brought on the stage, though under different circumstances.[65] A line from this episode (*Arg.* 1.429 κατὰ πλατὺν αὐχένα κόψας) had served as a model for Nonnus in 4.444; cf. also N. 1.452; 25.457. In two other sacrificial scenes, the victim's blood streams prophetically down Semele's belly and robe (N. 7.167–70) and Agave's hands (N. 44.104–6).[66] The same motif, in a comparable form, is to be found in the episode of Apsyrtos' murder by Jason which is presented as a sacrifice (cf. *Arg.* 4.468 ff.): the dying man sprinkles Medea's white veil with his blood to indicate her guilt (*Arg.* 4.472–4). Although there are no verbal parallels, Nonnus may have had this episode in mind. However, it is just possible that this passage of book 44 may have drawn on Apollonius' own source, viz. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: cf. A. *Ag.* 1389 f. κἀκφυσιῶν . . . αἵματος σφαγὴν/βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου with N. 44.105 f. αἱμαλέης . . . αὐλὸς ἐέρσης/ χεῖρας . . . φόνῳ πόρφυρεν 'Αγαύης.[67]

C. *Similes*

(a) The grand "epic" similes, which are rare in the *Dionysiaca* anyway, are sometimes indebted to those of Apollonius. For instance:

– N. 1.310–18 (the rearing horse). This is a frequent epic theme, but 1.318 is almost a textual variation on *Arg.* 4.1365 f.[68]

– N. 42.185–93 (an ox pestered by a gadfly) ~ *Arg.* 1.1265–9. A comparable theme: the beast, stung by a μύωψ, leaves its pasture. The formulae ὡς δ' ὅτε and βεβολημένος οἴστρῳ are verbatim repeated. The same source is used more freely in N. 11.191–3, though not in the course of a simile this time (Ampelos riding away on a bull enraged by a gadfly). Note the variation κεχαραγμένος οἴστρῳ. The passage in book 42 concerns Dionysos pierced by Eros' dart; it also refers to *Arg.* 3.275 ff.: cf. 188 ὀλίγῳ . . . οἴστρῳ ~ *Arg.* 3.294; 195 βαιὸς Ἔρως ~ *Arg.* 3.281 and see below 304 f.

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[65] Cf. Chuvin (1976) 79 f. N. 5.8 combines *Il.* 21.173 and *Arg.* 3.1381 (γυμνόν); N. 5.20 varies *Arg.* 1.364 f.

[66] On these two episodes cf. Chuvin (1992) 78 f.

[67] As Chuvin notes, the passage from book 7 has some minor echoes from the *Argonautica*: N. 7.168 κόλπον ἔδευσε ~ *Arg.* 3.804 δεῦε δὲ κόλπους; N. 7.169 αἵματος ὁλκοί ~ *Arg.* 3.1391 αἵματι δ' ὁλκοί.

[68] Cf. Vian (1976) n. on N. 1.310–18 (154 f.). The same motif is varied at N. 14.185 (not in a simile).

(b) Apollonius' similes are also laid under contribution in the metamorphosis scenes, which in effect are but similes in disguise:

– N. 3.86 f. Peitho takes the form of a servant who goes off to fetch water from a spring: οἷα γυνὴ ταλαεργός echoes *Arg.* 4.1062 γυνὴ ταλαεργός, a poor woman turning the spindle.

– N. 6.188–90. Zagreus is transformed into a wild horse. 6.189 γαῦρον ὀδόντα μετοχμάζοντι χαλινοῦ borrows from *Arg.* 4.1604–8 (γαῦρος, χαλινά, ὀδακτάζοντι).

(c) Elsewhere, it is in the narrative itself that motifs and expressions borrowed from Apollonius' similes are to be found (cf. the case of N. 11.191–3, already mentioned above 299):

– N. 2.617 f. (the foaming mouths of the boars which form part of Typhoeus' body); N. 18.245 (description of Kampe) ~ *Arg.* 3.1351–3. The foaming-mouth motif occurs elsewhere in the poem and has already been exploited by Quintus.[69]

– N. 5.250–7. The account of Aristaios the bee-keeper (cf. below 303) borrows βομβηδὸν κλονέοντος (N. 5.253) from Apollonius' simile in *Arg.* 2.133.

– N. 45.201; 46.185 (a tree pulled up πρυμνόθεν; cf. also 44.67): reminiscence of *Arg.* 4.1686.[70]

(d) Conversely, some of Nonnus' other similes borrow from Apollonius' narrative; for instance, the simile of 32.153–60 (a ship endangered by a storm) harks back to Apollonius' nautical vocabulary and imitates one of his expressions.[71]

Although the grand "epic" simile is less frequent in Nonnus than in Quintus, the poet shows a preference for comparing two mythological persons, thereby making literary allusions: see, for instance, N. 13.85–9 and 29.197–204, noted above (296). Likewise, in N. 11.227–30 there is an anachronistic comparison between Dionysos' wild career following Ampelos' death and Herakles' similar reaction to Hylas' disappearance. For Nonnus this is an opportunity to refer simultaneously to Theoc. *Id.* 13 and *Arg.* 1.1263 f., 1270.[72]

D. *Mythology*

Nonnus borrows freely from Apollonius' mythological accounts, thus giving proof of his taste for literary allusion. Here are some of the

[69] Cf. Vian (1976) n. on N. 2.618 (188) and above n. 22.
[70] Cf. Tissoni (1998) 323.
[71] Cf. Vian (1997) n. on N. 32.156–9, 160 (156) and above 297.
[72] Cf. Vian (1995) n. on N. 11.224–31 (168) and below 301.

most notable instances, listed in the order of their occurrence in the *Argonautica*:

– Catalogue of the Argonauts and Catalogue of Dionysos' troops. Oiagros (N. 13.428–31) allows Nonnus to refer to Apollonius' introduction of Oiagros' son Orpheus in *Arg.* 1.23–4 and to rehearse five out of seven place names or anthroponyms to be found in Apollonius: Oiagros, Orpheus, Kalliope, Pimpleia and Bistonia. The couple Hymenaios-Phoenix (N. 13.85–9) is explicitly compared to the couple Meleagros-Laokoon (*Arg.* 1.190–8): cf. above 296. The three satyrs, Hermes' sons, who act as heralds (N. 14.112–4, 299–302; cf. 18.313 f.), copy three other sons of Hermes, one of whom, Aithalides, is the Argonauts' herald (*Arg.* 1.51–6). N. 14.301 is a variation on *Arg.* 1.53.

– Jason's encounter with Hypsipyle (*Arg.* 1.605–909). This episode is recalled by a brief and anachronistic allusion in N. 30.205.

– The Idaean Daktyloi. The account of their birth (N. 14.24–6) is a variation on *Arg.* 1.1129–31 (Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι . . ., ἐβλάστησε), although Nonnus reports a slightly different version.

– As noted above (300), the death of Ampelos, the boy loved by Dionysos, is compared to the disappearance of Hylas, the boy loved by Herakles. Nonnus combines references to *Arg.* 1.1207–72 and Theoc. *Id.* 13: cf. esp. N. 11.227–30, 333, 453 f. and the *ad loc.* notes in the edition. *Arg.* 1.1207–9 and Theoc. *Id.* 13.36 are also alluded to through the combined employment of κάλπις and ἐπιδόρπιον ὕδωρ in N. 47.394 f.[73]

– Herakles and the Stymphalian birds: 29.240–2 ~ *Arg.* 2.1052–7. There are few textual reminiscences, but the context contains references to the same episode: 29.215 ~ *Arg.* 2.1060; N. 29.218 ~ *Arg.* 2.1081.

– Phaëthon, the Heliades and Eridanos. Their myth occupies an entire book (38). Like Quintus, Nonnus recalls on several occasions *Arg.* 4.596–626: cf. esp. N. 2.153–7; 4.122; 11.32–4, 324; 23.89–93; 38.92–102, 410 f., 432–4; 43.414 f. Principal textual echoes: ῥόος Ἠριδανοῖο, κινυρός, ὀδυρομένων.[74]

– Sirens. The account of their genealogy (N. 13.312–8) is a variation on *Arg.* 4.895 f., although the version related is a different one.[75]

[73] Cf. Fayant (2000) note *ad loc.* (173).

[74] Cf. Simon (1999) nn. on N. 38.93 (193), 432 (223).

[75] Cf. Vian (1995) notes *ad loc.* (233). There are some echoes from the *Argonautica* in a simile concerning sailors abused by a Siren: N. 2.13 ~ *Arg.* 4.894; N. 2.15 ~ *Arg.* 4.892 f.

– Makris, Dionysos' nurse: *Arg.* 4.1131–8. Nonnus mentions her in a different context in N. 21.193–5. Although he makes no allusion to Makris, he probably has the same passage in mind in N. 9.61, 133, 226, 243–6 (~ *Arg.* 4.1135–8).[76]

2. *Echoes and imitations in the narrative*

In the case of Quintus, a book by book survey of the principal reminiscences was the simplest way to proceed, given the limited number of passages to be considered. Since it is hardly possible to do the same with Nonnus' long and complex *Dionysiaca*, it has seemed preferable to group the facts, or at least the most significant among them, under two headings which both contrast with and supplement each other. We shall deal first with Nonnus' debt to his predecessor in those parts of the poem which are devoted to the myth of Kadmos and his descendants. Then, in reverse order, we shall draw up a list (not intended as exhaustive) of those passages in *Argonautica* 3 which have left their trace in the *Dionysiaca* with a view to demonstrating the impact some famous tableaux in this book have had on Nonnus.

A. *The story of Kadmos and his descendants*

Although the *Argonautica* is little concerned with this mythological chapter, Nonnus draws inspiration either from the narrative proper or in order to insert citations and allusions, thereby paying homage to his predecessor. The title he gives Kadmos twice (N. 2.3; 44.101), Κάδμος Ἀγηνορίδης, is already a reference to *Arg.* 3.1186.

– The departure of Harmonia, who leaves her homeland, Samothrake, to follow her future husband (N. 4.179–206), is modelled on Medea's departure (*Arg.* 4.26–34). In both episodes Mene (the Moon) comments on the event (N. 4.213–25 ~ *Arg.* 4.54–65). The passage features further borrowings from Apollonius: N. 4.208 ~ *Arg.* 2.1149 Χαλκιόπην ἀνάεδνον; N. 4.211 f. ~ *Arg.* 4.1221 f. (handmaids given to Medea on her departure from Drepane).[77] The imitation continues into 226–37, in an episode full of nautical terms: Kadmos then places his fiancée on the poop of his ship (N. 4.233 f.), just as Jason does in *Arg.* 4.188 f.[78]

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[76] Cf. Chrétien (1985) 23 n. 3.
[77] Cf. Chuvin (1976) 43 f. and nn. on N. 4.199 and 213 (158).
[78] Cf. above 297.

– Kadmos' and Harmonia's sojourn in Libya borrows some terms from Apollonius' Libyan episode: N. 13.344 ἐρημονόμος ~ *Arg.* 4.1333; N. 13.345 Λιβυστίδος ~ *Arg.* 4.1753; N. 13.351 Νύμφαι δ' Ἑσπερίδες ~ *Arg.* 4.1398 f. Cf. also N. 13.347 Ἑσπερίων . . . Αἰθιοπήων = *Arg.* 3.1192.[79] In some respects, their wedding is reminiscent of Jason and Medea's wedding at Drepane.[80]

– The account of the birth and death of the Spartoi (N. 4.427–63) is modelled on the concluding episode of *Argonautica* 3.[81] The poet acknowledges his debt by taking up some characteristic terms and expressions: 4.364 πλαδαροῖο ~ *Arg.* 3.1398; 4.405 ἀνασταχύοιτο ~ *Arg.* 3.1338, 1354; 4.427–40, 442 ἤμησε, 447 γαστέρος ἄχρι ~ *Arg.* 3.1382–4, 1396 f.[82] The catalogue of Indian corpses in 22.232 ff. also borrows from the same scene: cf. esp. 241 f. ~ *Arg.* 3.1393–5.

– Kadmos and Harmonia's exile in Illyria is an allusion to *Arg.* 4.516 f.: cf. 44.113–8 (with some textual echoes) and, before this, 4.416–20; 5.121–5.

– The building of the Theban walls by Amphion and Zethos (25.414–21) is a variation on *Arg.* 1.735–41: cf. above 298 (see *ecphrasis*). The same source had been used in 5.50, 66 f.

– The account of Aristaios' civilizing work in book 5 is partly based on Apollonius. 5.247–57 (Aristaios the bee-keeper) contain a simile associated with the smoking out of bees, deriving from *Arg.* 2.130–4 and repeating the formula βομβηδὸν κλονέονται (cf. above 300). 5.261–8 (Aristaios as an animal-raiser) correspond to *Arg.* 2.513–15; however, no verbal similarities are to be observed. By contrast, N. 5.269–79 (the foundation of the cult of Zeus Ikmaios, the origin of the etesian winds) take up, sometimes at the verbal level, *Arg.* 2.522–7.[83] The theme of the etesian winds emerges again in 12.286 and esp. in 13.278–85, where Nonnus introduces some variations with regard to book 5 by using, apart from his principal source Callimachus, Euphorion and the *scholia* on Apollonius.[84]

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[79] Ἑσπερίων has been conjectured by Fränkel instead of ἑσπέριος in the *Argonautica* text. The parallel passage from Nonnus confirms Fränkel's solution.

[80] Cf. Vian (1995) n. on N. 13.354 and 357a (237).

[81] *Arg.* 3.1354–98. Cf. Chuvin (1976) 55–7.

[82] Cf. *ibid.* n. on 4.364, 405, 427, 442, 447 (166–9). The passage echoes *Arg.* 1.429–30 (sacrifice of a bull) too: cf. n. on 4.444, 452 (169).

[83] Cf. Chuvin (1976) 91 n. 2 and n. on N. 5.269 (181).

[84] Cf. Vian (1995) n. on N. 13.275–86 (230 f.).

B. *Imitations and echoes involving* Argonautica *3*

The following episodes and passages from *Argonautica* 3 have left their mark on the *Dionysiaca*:

– Hera visits Aphrodite (*Arg.* 3.6–112); Aphrodite visits Eros (3.112–55). Books 31–3 combine the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη with the opening episodes of *Argonautica* 3. When Hera sends Iris in search of Hypnos, the account (N. 31.110–31) is punctuated by four expressions meant to recall Aphrodite's visit to Eros;[85] Hypnos' reactions are similar to those of Eros: like the latter, he feels joy and excitement (N. 31.191–5 ~ *Arg.* 3.145–8).[86] The opening of Hera's subsequent visit to Aphrodite (31.199 ff.) looks like a pastiche made up from Apollonius' corresponding scene in *Arg.* 3.36 ff.[87] Finally, after the Διὸς ἀπάτη and its consequences, a long episode in book 33 (33.60–179) takes once again as its model the episode of Aphrodite's visit to Eros whose principal motifs it preserves, though in a different distribution: the introduction is similar (33.61, 64 εἴ που ἐφεύροι, εὗρε δέ μιν ~ *Arg.* 3.113 f.); Eros and another young boy, Hymenaios (not Ganymedes, though the latter presides over the game), play *cottabos* (instead of *astragalus*) on Olympos; there is talk of a revolving globe (33.69 σφαῖραν . . . τροχόεσσαν ~ *Arg.* 3.135 σφαῖραν ἐυτρόχαλον), of Eros' joy at receiving his prize, and of the kiss his mother gives him (33.146 ~ *Arg.* 3.149 f.). Nonnus does not just paraphrase his model; he also borrows some expressions from it. Thus the hemistich ἕως ἔτι θυμὸν ἐρύκει (*Arg.* 3.98) forms the basis for a varied formula: 21.166; 23.233–233a; cf. also 8.359; 22.111; 24.320; 34.328; 37.498; 48.619.

– Eros strikes Medea with his arrow (*Arg.* 3.156–66, 275–98). Nonnus' numerous variations on this theme are generally marked by the use of the formula μάργος Ἔρως (cf. *Arg.* 3.120) or βαιὸς Ἔρως, a creation (?) of Nonnus himself[88] on the basis of *Arg.* 3.281 (six or seven instances). He variously rings the changes on five motifs derived from his model: (a) Eros moves to approach his victim (in N. 7.110–36 to seek the arrow of destiny); (b) the arrow is compared to the sting of a gadfly, μύωψ, which attacks a bull; (c) the shot; (d)

[85] Cf. Vian (1997) n. on N. 31.110–23 (137).
[86] Cf. *ibid.*, 55.
[87] For a detailed analysis cf. *ibid.*, 56–7; cf. also n. on N. 31.199–211 (141).
[88] The formula is attested also in an anonymous epigram (*AP* 9.616.2).

the powerful effect of a small wound;[89] (e) Eros' departure. Principal passages: N. 1.45–50 Zeus smitten with Europe (motif b; Eros does not involve himself in person); N. 5.586–93 Zeus smitten with Persephone (motif d; here Aphrodite takes the place of Eros); N. 7.110–36, 192–204, 270–9 Zeus smitten with Semele (motifs a, c, d);[90] N. 16.8–11 Dionysos smitten with Nikaia (motif c); N. 33.180–94, 316 Morrheus smitten with Chalkomede (motifs a, c, d, e); N. 42.185–95 Dionysos smitten with Beroe (motifs b,[91] c, d). Other reminiscences: N. 1.364 Zeus leaves the sky (πόλος) in the company of Eros (~ *Arg.* 3.161); N. 10.337 μάργος Ἔρως as umpire in a match between two young boys (cf. *Arg.* 3.120 μάργος Ἔρως playing with another young boy, Ganymedes); N. 31.172 βαιὸς Ἔρως, Zeus' vanquisher (motif d).[92]

– Arrival of the Argonauts at Aietes' palace (*Arg.* 3.210–74). Dionysos' arrival at Staphylos' palace (18.62–99) takes up a Homeric topos; however, Nonnus has also in mind the Argonauts' arrival at Aietes' palace. The first line (18.62) ἀλλ' ὅτε νισσομένοισι echoes *Arg.* 3.210 τοῖσι δὲ νισομένοις which introduces the account. The description of the palace (N. 18.73–86) follows the pattern of *Arg.* 3.216: πύλας (~ N. 18.85), κίονας (~ N. 18.81), τοίχους (N. 18.73). The promptness displayed by the king's subjects in receiving the guests on arrival is the same in both poets (N. 18.93–9 ~ *Arg.* 3.270–4).[93] Elsewhere, in N. 29.197–204, the colts drawing the car of Kabeiro's sons, the work of Hephaistos, are explicitly likened to Aietes' brazenfoot bulls (*Arg.* 3.228–33, 1318) through a simile and numerous textual parallels: cf. above 296.

– The chattering crow (*Arg.* 3.927–47). The episode of the crow mocking the seer Mopsos because of his ignorance of erotic matters attracted Nonnus, as it gave him an opportunity to pay simultaneous homage to Apollonius and to his predecessor Callimachus (*Hecale*, fr. 73–4 Hollis = fr. 260.35 ff. Pf.). He uses this episode in 3.97–123,

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[89] On this motif cf. Vian (1997) n. on N. 31.171–2 (139).

[90] Several textual echoes: N. 7.131, 201 ~ *Arg.* 3.282; N. 7.270, 274 ~ *Arg.* 3.281, 294 f.

[91] The motif is treated in a large epic simile: cf. above 299.

[92] Nonnus' formula θρασὺς Ἔρως (four times) may have come from *Arg.* 3.687 θρασέες . . . Ἔρωτες, though it is attested in epigrams too, for instance Posidippus, *AP* 5.213.

[93] Tissoni (1998) 148 compares N. 44.205 ὑποδρήσσουσι θοώκοις with *Arg.* 3.274 ὑποδρήσσων βασιλῆι.

when Kadmos walks to the royal palace in Samothrake where he will meet Harmonia, his future wife. The first lines closely follow Apollonius: 3.99 ὀμφαίῃ . . . κορώνῃ ~ *Arg.* 3.929, 939; στόμα λάβρον (and 3.123 λάλον στόμα) ~ *Arg.* 3.929 λακέρυζαι; 3.102 πτερὰ σεισαμένῃ ~ *Arg.* 3.930.[94] The imitation is less close afterwards; only the closing of the crow's speech bears resemblance to *Arg.* 3.936 f. However, it is only in 12.233 (περιπνείουσιν Ἐρώτων) that an echo of ἐπιπνείουσιν Ἔρωτες can be traced. The theme reappears in N. 16.228–45; 42.139–49; 48.514–28: the crow is now replaced by a Nymph or the poet himself, and the Apollonian echo dies out.[95]

This section apart, the echoes from book 3 become less frequent after 3.302.

– From the episode of the Argonauts' embassy to Aietes (*Arg.* 3.302–442), Nonnus in his "Lykurgeia" preserves only the confrontation between a messenger and a violent king who dismisses the former with threats (N. 21.200–78). The similarities remain superficial; in any case, 21.266–73 may be compared with *Arg.* 3.372–81.[96] Echoes of the same passage are to be found in the "Pentheis": 44.17 ἄναξ ἐπεχώσατο ~ *Arg.* 3.367; 45.246 f. (Pentheus suspects that Dionysos wants to dethrone him) ~ *Arg.* 3.375 f.[97]

– The subsequent part of the account, which concerns Medea (*Arg.* 3.616 ff.),[98] contains various reminiscences. Like Medea divided between love and duty (*Arg.* 3.788–99), Nikaia, who is pregnant against her will, wants to hang herself in order to avoid the taunts of the women (16.390–2): 16.392 (μῶμον, φιλοκέρτομον) takes up the terms of *Arg.* 3.792 κερτομίαις, 3.794 μωμήσονται.[99] In the "Pentheis" there are some echoes, all of them converging in book 44:[100] 58 (Agave's fear of the future: ἐδόκησε) ~ *Arg.* 3.619; 44.125 (the nightfall: οὐδέ τις . . . ἀνὰ πτόλιν) ~ *Arg.* 3.749; 44.274 (the Erinys collects Gorgon's blood in a shell: ἐπαμήσασα . . . κόχλῳ) ~ *Arg.* 3.858.[101] In

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[94] νωθρὸς ὁδίτης (N. 3.101), however, comes from Callimachus: *Hecale*, fr. 68 Hollis (= fr. 259 Pf.).

[95] Cf. Gerlaud (1994) 95 n. 6.

[96] Cf. Hopkinson (1994) 56 n. 1.

[97] Cf. Tissoni (1998) 93 f., 255.

[98] In N. 13.331 Kirke is called σύγγονος Αἰήταο πολύθρονος; the expression recalls the phrase used of Medea in *Arg.* 3.27 κούρην Αἰήτεω πολυφάρμακον.

[99] Cf. Gerlaud (1994) 101 n. 5 and n. *ad loc.* (237).

[100] Cf. Tissoni (1998) 105, 121, 179.

[101] With this echo from book 3 are linked echoes from the Libyan episode: N.

book 48, when Nonnus evokes Artemis on her chariot surrounded by her companions, he has in mind Medea's departure for the temple of Hekate: N. 48.316 ~ *Arg.* 3.874 f.; N. 48.318 ~ *Arg.* 3.873.[102]
– On Jason's labours and the death of the Spartoi of Colchis cf. above 303.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it will be noted that, although all three poets considered above are familiar with the whole of the *Argonautica*, they still favour certain parts of the poem: the 600 first lines and the landing in Lemnos (with the notable exception of the Jason-Hypsipyle encounter) in book 1; the Amykos episode and the fight against Ares' birds in book 2; the death of the Spartoi of Colchis in book 3; Medea's departure and the mythological digression on Phaethon in book 4. Nonnus widens the scope, laying more passages under contribution: notably, Aristaios and the etesian winds in book 2; Kadmos' exile in Illyria, the Sirens, the departure from Drepane and the Libyan adventures in book 4. Besides, he marks his difference from Quintus' homerizing epic by preserving episodes with a typically Hellenistic erotic colour: Hylas in book 1, and the opening scenes and inserted crow episode from book 3.[103] Like Quintus, Nonnus borrows from those parts of book 3 which involve Medea, but these borrowings are limited to individual points. Nonnus is not keen on psychological analysis: there is nothing in his poem to suggest either the inner suffering of Aietes' daughter or the complexity of Jason's personality; Aietes himself has contributed nothing to the portrayal of the uncomplicated Deriades or indeed to the figures of Dionysos' other adversaries.

Each of these three poets practises imitation in accordance with his conception of epic. For Quintus and Triphiodorus, Apollonius

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44.275 Γοργόνος ἀρτιφόνοιο (Graefe: αὐτοφ- L) ~ *Arg.* 4.1515 Γοργόνος ἀρτίτομον; N. 44.276 Λιβυστίσι ~ *Arg.* 4.1513 and 1753.

[102] In the course of his conversation with Medea Jason mentions Ariadne's crown, ἀστερόεις στέφανος . . . Ἀριάδνης (*Arg.* 3.1003). Nonnus draws on this expression at 8.98 and 47.451.

[103] The principal passages that have inspired Apollonius' imitators are all to be found at the beginning of the four books. Is this accidental?

continues rather than renews Homer, enriching the epic tradition without really changing it. Their imitation is subtle; it is nowhere marked as such except where they compare in covert language the Trojan Horse with the ship of Argo.[104] Nonnus reads Apollonius with a different eye, and his technique of imitation brings about a double innovation. First, unlike his predecessors, he shows off his learning and artfully winks at his readers, inviting them to identify a source and thereby to appreciate the use to which it has been put. In such cases his borrowings become verbal, occasionally turning into actual citations.[105] Secondly, in pursuit of a renewal of the epic genre, he is not content with the pedantic practice of adding some famous topoi, composed *à la manière d'Homère*, at the margin of the narrated action: *ecphrasis* of the shield, funeral scenes and funeral games; he goes further, working into the plot itself narrative units borrowed from poets other than Homer. Thus it is Euripides who provides him with the plot of his "Pentheis" (books 44–6). This novel form of mimesis leads him to arrange in his own way some of Apollonius' most "modern" episodes. The best example is offered by a number of scenes in books 31 and 33 prompted by the beginning of *Argonautica* 3: they include a homerizing Διὸς Ἀπάτη (book 32), with which they form the introduction to Chalkomede's long romance (book 33–5). Following his habit, Nonnus does not seek to disguise his source; on the contrary, he flaunts his imitation, inasmuch as to him Apollonius, like Homer, is both a model and a rival.

[104] Campbell (1981b) 191 notes: "Quintus certainly imitates Apollonius, but rarely slavishly".

[105] Note however that Nonnus repeats either exactly or almost exactly twenty lines from the *Iliad* (one line from the *Odyssey*) but only one from the *Argonautica* (N. 5.278 ~ *Arg.* 2.525), just as Quintus does (Q.S. 14.380 ~ *Arg.* 1.885). N. 5.211 cannot be considered in this context, as the line it modifies features in a similar form both in Callimachus (fr. 12.6 Pf.) and in the *Argonautica* (1.1309).

THE GOLDEN FLEECE. IMPERIAL DREAM

John Kevin Newman

The Quest for the Golden Fleece is one of the great stories of European literature, famous already to Homer's audience (*Od.* 12.70), but early drawing more than Greek interest. The Etruscans, themselves fine seamen, liked it: a late fifth-century cornelian scarab in London, for example, shows "Eason" (Jason) embarking in his ship, his name written beside him.[1] A fourth-century crater preserved in Florence is further evidence of their interest in the myth.[2] Towards the end of that century, or the beginning of the third, there was much more dramatic evidence. A large terracotta pedimental decoration in high relief, recovered from Tibur, now exhibited in Room VI of the Museo Etrusco in the Vatican (inv. 14103–14104–14106–14117–20820–20821), shows in the centre of its action a tree "from which hangs one of the hind paws, empty and lifeless, of a ram skin". This, it is said, "recalls the iconography of the Golden Fleece and confirms . . . that the main theme of this monument is the expedition of the Argonauts". We can now only speculate about the purpose of the vivid representation of heroic power which this group of temple sculptures, set so far from the sea, once portrayed.

More surprisingly, the tale attracted Roman land-lubbers also. Lycophron had already linked "the great Aietes-haven, famous anchorage of the Argo" with Aeneas' arrival in Italy (*Alex.* 1274). The

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[1] BM Castellani Collection GR 1872.6–4.1166, 440–400 B.C. This means that it coincides in date with Euripides' *Medea* and its implied critique of the heroic. General information on the myth and its variants is found in W.H. Roscher's *Lexikon*, vol. I, cols. 502–37, s. vv. "Argo", "Argonautae und Argonautensage". Stith Thompson (1955–58) is also basic ("Index", vol. 6). See also Propp (1928), esp. ch. 3. Among the many books most recently devoted to Apollonius may be mentioned those of Clauss (1993); Jackson (1993); Hunter (1993a); DeForest (1994); Rengakos (1994a); Knight (1995); Albis (1996); McGuire (1997).

[2] See Brendel (1995) 348 and, for the Ficoroni chest, now in the Villa Giulia, pp. 354–5. This shows the binding of Amycus, of which Apollonius says nothing (cf. *Arg.* 2.95). The struggle of Talos with the Boreads/Dioscuri also interested Etruscan artists (370). Here again Apollonius (4.1654 ff.) quite diverged from the tradition.

Argonauts, painted for unknown patrons by a Greek artist of the fourth century (possibly Kydias), was later purchased and reverently housed by the distinguished Roman orator Hortensius (Pliny *N.H.* 35.130), and may perhaps have been the picture installed by Augustus' general Agrippa in 26 B.C. in his Porticus Argonautarum in Rome (D.C. 53.27). In Roman literature, Ennius' Euripidean *Medea*, concerned with the aftermath of the adventure, was certainly celebrated, but Accius later wrote a quite different *Medea sive Argonautae*,[3] based perhaps on a Sophoclean original, and recounting an episode also found in Apollonius (4.303 ff.). In his *Peleus and Thetis*, Catullus borrowed from Euripides and Ennius to evoke the brilliant departure, and then overshadowed it with thoughts of marital discord. Varro of Atax, his contemporary, is said by Quintilian (10.1.87) to have "interpreted" Apollonius' epic. To him we must return.

The ramifications of the tale extend through and beyond the Latin tradition, where its presence was reinforced by the poetry of Ovid, particularly by paraphrases of the *Metamorphoses*.[4] Though he puts Jason in hell for his seductions (*Inf.* 18.82–97), Dante even there praises his courage and craft, and later evokes his triumph with the plough (*Par.* 2.18). The myth continued to fascinate authors at least down to William Morris' *Life and Death of Jason* (1867). It has always been a theme for artists. Illustrating an ideology of power, Giuseppe Passeri contributed "Jason and the Argonauts with the Golden Fleece" to the frescoes of the Palazzo Barberini (1678).[5] In 18th-century France, a series of no less than seven tapestries treating the legend was designed for the Gobelin factories—suggesting therefore some sort of official patronage—by Jean-François Dutroy (1679–1752).[6]

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[3] So Warmington (1967) 456. Ribbeck (1897) 216 calls it simply *Medea*.

[4] Such as are found, for example, in the editions published in Venice in 1492 and 1497 (with the text and commentary of Raphael Regius), and persist in the Abbé Antoine Banier's *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide* (1757), still influencing 18th-century English porcelain figures ("Jason and Medea at the Altar of Diana", BM MLA 1936, 7–15, 8).

[5] Scott (1991), fig. 76.

[6] Two are to be found in Room 33 of the London National Gallery: "Jason swearing Eternal Affection to Medea" (NG 6330), the first of the series, and "The Capture of the Golden Fleece" (NG 6512). The hanging Fleece looks remarkably like the emblem of the chivalrous order (on which see below), and Jason, with his Argonauts in attendance, cuts a heroic figure as he severs it from its tree. These may be compared with the scenes on the short sides of a late second century sarcophagus now in the Palazzo Altemps, Rome (inv. 8647–8648), on one of which Jason battles with the dragon, while on the other he and Medea join hands. Again, this is not Apollonius' story.

The "Golden Fleece" still gave its name to a Russian journal of literature and art in the first decade of the twentieth century.[7] Hollywood has not left the story alone.[8]

The adventure has been treated as a traditional quest (here "pattern one"),[9] of the sort familiar to students of folklore, and certainly a typical morphological feature of such tales (found canonically in the case of the Holy Grail) recurs when we learn that the Ram is eventually translated (with the Argo) to the stars. The Fleece, the object of so much striving, has eluded its captor. In a sense, Medea's wish has been granted (*Arg.* 4.386–7: δέρος δέ τοι ἶσον ὀνείρῳ/οἴχοιτ' εἰς ἔρεβος[10] μεταμώνιον).

The set-up of the *Argonautica* is however also reminiscent of another typical narrative-frame ("pattern two"), whose more regular outline is encountered, for example, in the tale of Perseus and Andromeda. This tells of the hero's confrontation with the monstrous dragon, which has taken a royal virgin prisoner. Eventually he prevails, marries the princess and succeeds to her father's throne.

But, in the Argonaut myth, as in another story liked by the Alexandrians, that of Theseus and Ariadne, the threads have crossed. Pattern two has suffered intrusion from pattern one. The *Argonautica* came to tell more than a simple, expected tale. The hero did not become Aietes' royal successor. This is already clear from Hesiod's allusion (Hes. *Th.* 992–1002). The virgin who Jason hopes will bring him a throne turns out to be Corinthian Glauke. Jason's serpent, though he does not realize it until too late, stands between him and that princess, and this serpent he does not defeat at all. Flying off

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[7] ЗОЛОТОЕ РУНО, edited by N. Ryabushinsky, Moscow 1906–09; cf. the study by Abram Markovich Efros, *Zolotoye Runo, Moscow 1906–09 (1910)* listed in Sarabianov (1990) 308.

[8] Though serious modern directors have generally been more interested in Euripidean studies of the character of Medea than in the Argonauts' quest as a whole: see McDonald (1983) 3–50 on Pasolini's *Medea* and Dassin's *Dream of Passion*; and her *Ancient Sun, Modern Light* (1992) 115–25 on "Tony Harrison's *Medea: A Sex War Opera*". The reader of the *Argonautica* is certainly struck by the quality of the poet's visual ("painterly") and auditory imagination, emphasized also by Fränkel (1968). Fränkel appeals to an analogy with film ("wie wenn in einem laufenden Film" etc., 324–5), but the film handling of the story (*Jason and the Argonauts*: Columbia Pictures, 1963) has tended to the sensational and even trivial. A revised version of my "Greek Poetics and Eisenstein's Films" (1991) is to be published (with added remarks on the film sense in Apollonius) in *Classical Myth and Culture in the Cinema* and is due from the OUP in 2001.

[9] See, for example, Segal (1986). So also Leeming (1998) 152.

[10] ערב, "evening", "darkness", "west", "Europe".

at the end on a chariot drawn by dragons after murdering the children Jason has fathered, a hostile and victorious Medea has herself assumed the role of the serpent enemy.[11]

This is clever enough, but that something even more complex is or became engaged in the legend is shown by Titian's unforgettable portrait of *Charles V on Horseback* (1548, Prado). The picture commemorates the victory of the previous year at Mühlberg. The emperor, wielding his sacred lance, is seen ready for his last battle, on a black mount against a lowering sky, in black armour. Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528) had made black *de rigueur* for the gentleman,[12] but here touches of red relieve the sombre colours, and one is added by a band around the emperor's neck from which dangles (of all things) a golden fleece. A companion portrait of Charles' son, Philip II, also done by Titian in 1548 (and also in the Prado),[13] shows him wearing like his father the insignia of the Fleece. Curious indeed, and matched by the two portraits of Charles' descendant, Philip IV (1605–65), by Velázquez, one in black (the last picture painted of the king by the artist), one oddly in brown and silver, now in Room 29 of the London National Gallery, where the unconvincingly royal subject again wears none of his no doubt many decorations except the curious fleece around his neck. With the Spanish Philip IV the splendid bronze bust of a German Habsburg, Rudolf II, by Adrian de Vries, dated to 1609 (Victoria and Albert Museum 6920–1860), forms a striking contrast; yet here too the emperor, hailed by an inscription on the edge of his arm as "Caesar Augustus", wears the same device. To satisfy curiosity, this is the chain and emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which Charles and his successors were by turns Grand Masters. Founded in 1429 by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy,[14] the honour is still cherished, and still

[11] See p. xxvii of the introduction to Page's edition of Euripides' *Medea* (1938) for the identification on an Attic black-figured lecythos (BM 1926.4.17.1) of a Medea with snakes on either side of her head. Perhaps the sigmatism so blamed at E. *Med.* 476 of the play is not wholly out of character!

[12] Castiglione's book was actually in the emperor's library at his retreat in the Monastery of San Jerónimo at Yuste: von Barghahn (1985) 46. Her two volumes are a powerful reminder of themes now vanished from popular and even scholarly consciousness.

[13] There is a companion piece in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome (inv. 146).

[14] A bronze medal in the Wallace Collection, London (Room 7, Case 1), for example, made in Italy about 1474 and ascribed to Giovanni Candida, shows Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, on its obverse, and on the reverse "the ram of the Golden Fleece". The power of the Order is noted by Huizinga (1996) 94–5,

sparingly bestowed. Low though they may have fallen since the days of the great Charles, the Habsburgs still wear this alone of their insignia at modern weddings of their clan. Such are the dimensions of the myth to be discussed in this paper.[15]

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For the Habsburgs, the Golden Fleece became a symbol of imperial power and of an imperial mission, an application of the Argonaut myth already foreshadowed in Pindar (Pi. *P.* 4) and Herodotus (4.179). In both these authors, the myth is used to signal conquest and colonisation. The Romans had no trouble with this concept. We will understand better the originality with which Apollonius handles his theme, if we set his tale against a background not only of literature and history of this sort, but also of anthropology.

The Thracians, whose barbarous polity, now recognized as Indo-European, is again attracting the attention of scholars, offer a useful place to start. Among them, the presence of a golden ram among the herds is already noted as a sign of impending kingship for its owner. On a golden helmet from Romania, a ram is being sacrificed by a man in a conical hat (the token of nobility). On a marble relief from the Roman period, we find a representation of Hermes, according to Herodotus (5.7) the particular god of the Thracian kings, riding a ram.[16] Control of the ram evidently brings control of the royal throne (pattern 2). In similar fashion, we find Ammon and Alexander with ram's horns.[17] The primitive sequence of thought is not hard

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though the character of Jason was even then thought ambiguous (Alain Chartier [d. 1433], quoted p. 95).

[15] On the early history of the Order of the Golden Fleece, see the recent collection of essays edited by Van den Bergen – Pantens (1996). A particular debt here must be acknowledged to Tanner (1993), though the stimulating book must be used with caution. The classic study by Braudel (1972) is committed by what its author calls its "structuralist" (really Tolstoyan) theory of history to under-emphasizing ideology, perhaps a dangerous weakness. In any case, ideology is the topic of this essay.

[16] I. Marazov (1998) 63, 64 with figs. 20, 21, 27. At the other end of Europe, the 2nd-century cult statue of Mercury with a ram/goat (and cock) from his temple at Uley (Gloucestershire) is reproduced in Salway (1993) 471. The site was pre-Roman.

[17] As God's spokesman, Moses too had horns (Ex. 34:29–35). קרן (*keren*) "horn", is evidently a root shared with Indo-European (κέρας, *cornu*). The Semitic aspects of the ram (איל) are too complex to trace here, but deserve a mention.

to follow. The sun enters the zodiacal sign of Aries, the Ram, at the beginning of spring, as nature is renewed. The ram is itself a symbol of masculine power (κτίλον 'Αφροδίτας of Kinyras, Pindar, *P.* 2.17).[18] A golden ram particularly shows its kinship with the sun, the seat of such power.

All this sounds exotic, but a version of the story is certainly found in a Roman Republican *praetexta* (Accius' *Brutus,* fr. 16, 560 Warmington):[19]

Quoniam quieti corpus nocturno impetu
dedi sopore placans artus languidos,
visust in somnis pastor ad me adpellere
pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine;
duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi
praeclarioremque alterum immolare me.
deinde eius germanum cornibus conitier,
in me arietare, eoque ictu me ad casum dari.
Exin prostratum terra, graviter saucium,
resupinum in caelo contueri maximum ac
mirificum facinus: dextrorsum orbem flammeum
radiatum solis liquier cursu novo.

It was night's onset, and I surrendered my body to sleep, resting my weary limbs in slumber. But I had a dream—a shepherd was driving towards me his flock, its sheep of extraordinary beauty. From it, in my dream, kin rams were chosen, and the more brilliant of the two I sacrificed. But then its twin began to push and butt me with its horns, and the blow sent me sprawling. Lying on the ground, sorely wounded, I looked up at the sky and saw a great and surprising sight. The sun's fiery sparkling orb melted, and took a new course to the right.

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[18] Cinyras was king of Cyprus, an island which has long acted as a focus for the most diverse cultural influences, as the visitor to Room 72 of the British Museum (A. G. Leventis Gallery of Cypriot Antiquities) will observe. A silver double "siglos" (= שקל, "shekel") of 475 B.C. from Salamis on exhibition there shows a ram with the name of King Euelthon in Cypriot letters. Another double siglos of about 400 B.C. from Marion has an engraving of Phrixos clinging to the ram with the Golden Fleece, with which may be compared a silver mirror from the Antonine age with a laminated engraved decoration of Phrixos on the ram's back, holding on to Helle (Palazzo Massimo delle Terme, Rome, inv. 394155). The Palazzo Massimo also has a pair of gold earrings with rams' heads from a tomb at Fidenae (late 6th-early 5th cent. B.C.), which may be paralleled with a pair of silver-plated bronze bracelets or armlets terminating in gold rams' heads from Marion (about 475–450 B.C.: BM Jewellery 1987). These are not chance evocations.

[19] All translations are by the author. A slightly different text in Ribbeck (1897) 328–39. See Fauth (1976). If the *praetexta* (like the *tebenna/toga*) was an Etruscan bor-

Here, Tarquin is confronted by a version of his "death dream".[20] Evidently the king's time is up. He may have sacrificed one ram (like the noble on the Romanian helmet), but a new ram has succeeded in overthrowing him, and what was his sun quite literally begins to change its course.

Virgil introduced something of this into his fourth *Eclogue*, presaging another new regime at Rome (*Ecl.* 43–4):

ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto.

The very ram in the pastures will shortly colour its fleece with the soft blush of purple, with the yellow tint of saffron.

Purple and gold are royal hues. Simonides had actually said that the fleece was purple and white by turns.[21] There is no contradiction. These are the deep red/pale yellow hues of the changing sun. At Rome the phenomenon heralds the advent of a new Age of Gold.

But history is to run in a circle. Virgil's Golden Age is to be preceded by a rehearsal of old myths, including that of the Argonauts (*loc. cit.* 34–6):

alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo
delectos heroas: erunt etiam altera bella
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

Then there will be a second Tiphys, and a second Argo
with its crew of chosen heroes. There will be second wars,
and once again great Achilles will be despatched to Troy.

In these lines, the Argonautic and Trojan cycles are brought into some sort of correlation. This had obviously become commonplace. Catullus, who begins poem 64 with the departure of the Argo, introduces Fates who prophesy the bloody career of Achilles. In the background lay a clash of cultures and continents. In the fifth century, Herodotus had linked the snatching of Medea by the Argonauts with the tit-for-tat snatching of Helen in the next generation by Paris

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rowing, the language here may owe something to notions at home in Asia Minor. The story of Jacob's dream and the "black, brindled and spotted" sheep and goats which formed the basis of his prosperity (Ge. 31:10–12) may conceal another version of the story.

[20] The term is used by Oppenheim (1956) 213.

[21] *Sch. Arg.* 4.176–7 (Wendel [1958] 271); cf. *Arg.* 4.977–8, where the cattle of the Sun are milky white with golden horns.

(1.2–3). In his account, which he attributes to "Persian" sources, Argive Io had been snatched by Phoenicians even before Medea was taken by the Greeks. The Rape of Europe is part of this sequence (Hdt. 1.2), and the contention between the continents is a theme still alive for Lycophron (*Alex.* 1295) and Moschus (*Eur.* 8 ff.)—and hence the later celebrations of Rome as the guardian of order among them.[22] Societies were and are often identified with a female guardian spirit (בת־ציון [= "daughter Zion"], *dea Roma*, "Marianne"), and this may be the original impulse inspiring such tales of mutual rape. It is impossible even to attempt here to disentangle the vicissitudes of Herodotus' story on its way to him at the hands of previous narrators.[23] The humour of Aristophanes (*Ach.* 524), seeming so inappropriate to the investigations of the scholar, may indicate the influence of what has elsewhere been called the "undifferentiated primitive".[24]

Herodotus already contrasts Greek moral outrage at the loss of their womenfolk with the more worldly complaisance of the Asiatics (Hdt. 1.4). Under the Flavians, Valerius Flaccus evidently aimed to strengthen further the moral bias to the story (see below). Lying Laomedon (*lubricus astu*, Valerius 2.555), already perfectly familiar to Virgil, who insists on the Laomedontian legacy at the heart of Rome's own troubles (*G.* 1.501–2), was a valuable reinforcement to the Asiatic weight of guilt. Dionysius Scytobrachion, now dated to the third century B.C., related, perhaps in the wake of Cleon of Courion,[25] that

[22] Familiar from the Hadrianeum dedicated in 145 by Antoninus Pius (Palazzo Massimo, inv. 428496), but see also "Allegories of Rome and the Provinces", Blanchard-Lemée *et al.* (1996), fig. 6, now in El Djem, Tunisia. Six lesser personifications surround Rome. All the seven figures represented are female. In the Old Testament, the biting ironies of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 16) show the other side of this topos.

[23] Medea and her son Medeios were evidently linked with the prehistory of the Medes, as Perseus/Perses with that of the Persians (West *ad* Hes. *Th.* 1001, 429–30 of his edition).

[24] It might indicate that Aspasia (a "foreigner" at Athens) was viewed as the new Medea of the new Jason. Pericles had also voyaged Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα. He had established colonists in the Chersonese (Plutarch, *Per.* 19), and sailed to Pontos (*ibid.* 20). He also encouraged Athens to look west (Thurioi)—and the Argonauts, visiting Kirke's island, were also in the West, as Euripides' Jason reminds us by alluding to Skylla (*Med.* 1343, 1359). Like the colonising Greeks of *Pythian* 4, he was an imperialist, in whatever sense one cares to understand that term. My article "Euripides' *Medea*: Structures of Estrangement" (forthcoming in *ICS* 26 [2001]) develops these thoughts further.

[25] See Cleo (Curiensis) in *SH* 339A.: Rusten (1982) 53 ff. Cf. Dares Phrygius, *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, ed. F. Meister (1873), ch. 1–3. It is not clear whether this version of the legend was followed by Callimachus (fr. 698 Pf.). Lycophron (*Alex.*

the Argonauts had both called in at Troy on their outward voyage, and later sacked the city as punishment for his perjuries. Adopted, for example, by Dares Phrygius, in the Middle Ages and Renaissance this version became canonical. The two myths were inextricably joined.

Virgil lived in a time when at Rome Republic was giving place to Empire. The background of ideas implied by his extraordinary eclogue includes the Argonauts. They in fact received a public place, as we noted, among the monuments of Augustan Rome. Marcus Agrippa, one of Augustus' generals, both completed the Saepta Julia, left unfinished by Julius, and close by built the already mentioned Porticus Argonautarum, still a rendezvous well-known to Martial (2.14.5–6). In so unexpectedly recalling the tale of the Argonauts, Agrippa might certainly have been thinking of the victory over Antony and Cleopatra and its prizes (*spoliis Orientis onustum, Aen.* 1.289). This would have emphasized yet another version of the clash between cultures and continents. But was he also carrying into effect an idea sketched by Varro of Atax for Julius himself? The Virgilian context here (*Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo, Aen.* 1.288) is ambiguous.

Agrippa also planned some kind of Gallery of Maps, possibly of the sort we still see in the Via dei Fori Imperiali, or for that matter in the Vatican Palace. It was finished after his death by Augustus, the promise perhaps of conquests yet to come (cf. *tabula*, Propertius, 4.3.37). Augustus himself let it be known through his poets that he had ambitions rivalling those of his adoptive father, Iuppiter Iulius (Horace, *Od.* 3.5.1–4):

> *Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem*
> *regnare: praesens divus habebitur*
> *Augustus adiectis Britannis*
> *imperio gravibusque Persis.*

> By his thunder we have come to believe that Jupiter is
> king in heaven. Augustus will be known as a god among us,
> when he adds the Britons to our empire and the threatening Persians.

1346) follows Homer (*Il.* 5.640). Dionysius' rationalizing version of the story is summarized by Rusten (93 ff.), who notes on p. 96 that his most notable innovation was to make Herakles the leader from the start. Jason "is not mentioned again until the Argonauts reach Colchis, and even there plays a supporting role to Heracles (P. Hibeh. 2.186 col. 4)". Rusten leaves open (93 n. 2) the question of any influence of Dionysius on Apollonius, and in view of Callimachus' hostility to Euhemerus' rationalism (fr. 191.10–1 Pf.), this seems quite unlikely.

Julius had invaded Britain and planned an attack on "Persia"/Parthia. Philip II of Spain, portrayed by Titian wearing (like his father) the insignia of the Fleece, both sent a ship called the Argo to lead his fleet against the Turks (*graves Persae*) at Lepanto in 1571, and in 1588 launched his Armada against England (*adiectis Britannis imperio*). Trained in the Classics, he read the history of his Roman imperial predecessors and its imperatives in a particular way. Can we divorce the Porticus Argonautarum from these claims?

2

Julius Caesar was clearly the figure supremely marking the transition from Republic to Empire. He makes a great point in the *De Bello Gallico* of plain and soldierly simplicity, no doubt, as Norden says, to enhance an implicit contrast between himself and Pompey, and this deceived even so subtle a critic as Cicero. Modern scholarship rather points to the tendentious nature of the narrative.[26] But, if he was inventive in this way, was Caesar more of a prose poet than appears? There are certain features in his work of the laudatory epic. The different books are set up in the shape of ἀριστεῖαι. Every one produces its enemy hero, from Ariovistus in Book 1 to Vercingetorix in 7. He wins initial success. Caesar's enterprise is in difficulties. There may be boastful speeches (Ariovistus!). Then comes the triumphant Roman dénouement and the barbarian's defeat. And so the pattern is repeated.

Les poèmes se font des mots. Whatever the surface simplicity, certain telling words used by Caesar point ahead to themes of the imperial panegyric and, even if these occur spontaneously, they betray the bias of the author's mind. The emphasis on *celeritas* is one of these, since speed is a mark of divine power.[27] A second example is found

[26] See the recent volume K. Welch – A. Powell (1998). A general bibliography is offered by von Albrecht (1994) 345–7. Cf. also the English translation (Leiden 1997) 429–32.

[27] Call. *Jov.* 87–8 (of Ptolemy): ἑσπέριος κεῖνός γε τελεῖ τά κεν ἦρι νοήσῃ· / ἑσπέριος τὰ μέγιστα, τὰ μείονα δ', εὖτε νοήσῃ; Cicero, *Imp. Cn. Pomp.* § 40: *unde enim illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Pan. Lat.* 2.6.3 (X, Mynors, 248); *quod enim optaveras in futurum, fecisti continuo transactum.* Pindar observes that the ways of the gods are swift: ὠκεῖα δ' ἐπειγομένων ἤδη θεῶν πρᾶξις κτλ. (Pi. *P.* 9. 67–68). It is in this sense that we are to understand ναί, ἔρχομαι ταχύ

in *quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit* (*BG* 6.41). Here we are certainly conscious of Caesar as σωτήρ. "Fear not" is a characteristic note of the epiphany (μηδὲν φοβηθῇς at the arrival of the Oceanids, *Pr.* 128). *Caesaris adventus*, the only example of this personification in the *De Bello Gallico*, makes an abstract noun the subject of a transitive verb. *Adventus* unpersonified is a recurring term in the story, and again combined with the motifs of speed and fear (*et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum perterriti*, 4.14). But the imperial *adventus* is well known.[28]

What patronage did this ambitious Caesar extend to Varro of Atax, whose *Bellum Sequanicum* may have exalted the campaign against Ariovistus of 58 B.C., described in the first book of the *De Bello Gallico*? The Sequana (Seine) debouches into the English Channel, and Strabo tells us that Britain is less than a day's voyage from its mouth (4.1.14). The foolish Sequani are oppressed by the inroads of their former German ally, and find in Caesar their champion (*BG* 1.31). Caesar's narrative however mainly relates to the Haedui. In order to shift the emphasis to the Sequani, Varro must have selected from the facts and slanted his tale to show Caesar as a saviour.

This was to throw in one's lot with a style of poetry perfectly familiar to the ancients, but one in fact which had incurred the wrath already of Callimachus. Virgil wrote his sixth eclogue to make the antithesis between the two styles of epic[29] unmistakable for Roman poets. Yet the same Varro also translated, as was noted, Apollonius'

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at the end of Revelation (22:20), and OT words such as מהר, פתאם, חוש, רגע, reflected in St. Mark's fondness for εὐθύς. See also Daniel 4:30, 1 Kings 2:27: and the early Christian *maranatha*.

[28] Cf. *Aen.* 6.798–800, *huius* (Augusti) *in adventum . . . horrent . . . turbant*, and the sacral μὴ φοβοῦ and its equivalents in the Bible: אל־תירא דניאל, OT Dan. 10:12; μὴ φοβοῦ, Ζαχαρία, NT Lk. 1:13; μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ, *ibid.* 1:30. So also the Queen of Night on her first appearance in Mozart's *Magic Flute*, which should tell us something about her role. The relevant history of the word *adventus* is set out in *TLL* vol. I, cols 837–8. Fascinating material in MacCormack (1981): see her index s.v. *adventus*/ἀπάντησις. Hence the *adventus* of Christ into Jerusalem (ὑπάντησις, John 12:13). On the *joyeuse entrée* in Habsburg propaganda (whence Leeuven's Blijde Inkomststraat), Barghahn (1985) 54; Tanner (1993) 133–9.

[29] The rejected *reges et proelia* of v. 3 and the Hesiodic song of Silenus, 31 ff.: the contrast is emphasized by *canerem*/*canebat*, 3 and 31. Cf. the possible βασιλήων [δήριας?] *Aet.*-pref. 4 (on the reading, below 334). Compare the Homeric pastiche of the poem glorifying the Roman general Germanus preserved on a late papyrus: Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library) 590–94; cf. Lloyd-Jones-Parsons (1983) 349, no. 73. Plautus sees the comic side: *MG*, 25–30.

Argonautica into Latin, the work of a poet described as Callimachus' disciple. In the charged literary atmosphere of the day, this was an extraordinary *volte face*. The *Argonautica*, at the opposite pole from the *Bellum Sequanicum*, looks like a complete change of heart, a conversion to the other side in the Alexandrian battle of the books.

But was it? Perhaps Jacob Bernays[30] understood over a century ago what Varro's aim was—to write praises more subtle than the pastiche of writers such as Choerilus of Iasos or the crude narrative of the propagandist. As Caesar's ambition grew, the forests and marshes of Gaul were no longer enough. A few years after the rescue of the Sequani followed the two excursions into Britain. The iconography of the Uley statue of Mercury with his ram (or goat) was already noted. Before the island was better known, there were perhaps dreams of gold; and burials of torques and coins excavated in modern times give us some inkling of what may have glistened from across the Channel. In his poem 29, where Britannia is classed with *aurifer Tagus* (19–20), Catullus echoes some of this Roman gossip. Alas, the promises of *la perfide Albion* again proved illusory.[31]

The East was less likely to disappoint. *Arma deus Caesar d i t e s meditatur ad Indos* . . . was written for his successor (reflecting what original?), but for Julius too Parthia beckoned, and it was there that, if his life had been spared, he intended to carry the eagles, to avenge his dead partner Crassus and perhaps never to return to old Rome again. How soon were these ambitions known? Varro's second epic, like its predecessor, on this reading would also have aimed to glorify. Caesar, in both cases searching for gold, whether British or Parthian, would have been a new and better Jason. Our understanding

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[30] Bernays (1885) vol. 2, 164 n. 66; Schanz – Hosius (1927) 312 n. 1.

[31] *In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti*, Cicero, *Ad fam.*, 7.7.1. Strabo, though he asserts that expected revenues from Britain would not repay the costs of occupation (2.58), in fact lists gold among the island's exports, though after grain and cattle (4.5.2). There was gold in Ireland and Wales, and in alluvial deposits (cf. Catullus' *aurifer Tagus*) in the north and west of Britain. The Snettisham (Norfolk) Treasure, now in Room 49 (Weston Gallery) of the British Museum (dated to 70 B.C., excavated from 1948 on) is the largest hoard deposit of Iron Age gold and silver found so far in N. Europe. The Ipswich gold torques are dated to 75 B.C., and the Essendon hoard of gold torques and (Roman) gold coins is dated between about 50 B.C. and just before the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43. The first two might have been on display before Julius' invasion to tempt Roman greed. The second shows a continuing interest in gold between the two Roman assaults. The burials are testimony proving how much was hidden from the raiders' eyes once their attack materialized.

of the *Aeneid*'s frequent adaptations from this myth, where Aeneas is so often Jason, suffers immeasurably from our ignorance of Varro's poem.[32]

This is the reading of the story which we find, for example, in the proem of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, addressed to Vespasian, who had commanded the Roman forces in the Claudian invasion (1.7–9, 12–4). The sacral *namque potest* here (13),[33] alluding to Domitian before he succeeded to the throne, catches the attention:

> *Tuque o pelagi cui maior aperti*
> *Fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit*
> *Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos . . .*
> *. . . versam proles tua pandet Idumen*
> *(namque potest), Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem*
> *spargentemque faces et in omni turre furentem.*

> You (I invoke) on whom the seas explored bestow greater fame, after the Northern Ocean bore your sails, though earlier it had disdained those of the Trojan Julii. . . . Your son will tell of Judea overthrown (for his is the power), of his brother dark with Jerusalem's dust, hurling his firebrands and ranging in warlike temper over every battlement.

And this is why it was essential to Valerius' purpose to show Jason as a conquering soldier (book 6), like Caesar arriving as a rescuing champion, and perhaps even to recall Domitian's own campaigns. The Flavians had realized what would have been the Julian pattern but for the assassination. An assault on Britain conducted by Vespasian had been followed by the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, whose arch still exhibits the carrying of the Temple menorah in his triumphal procession. After these exploits, repeating and surpassing the adventure of the Argonauts, could only come the Golden Age already predicted in the fourth eclogue. Writing of Domitian's *Saturnalia*, Statius duly finds that age present (*Silvae* 1.6).

If he had lived, Julius Caesar would have aimed to avenge the death of Crassus at Parthian Carrhae, and the seizing there of Roman standards. The Golden Fleece on this interpretation becomes the symbol, not of a mere prize to be snatched, but of a grudge between

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[32] As Cairns has pointed out: (1989) 195–6. He refers also to Clausen (1987). See my review of this in *Vergilius* (1987) 43–6.

[33] Ἀλλὰ θεά, δύνασαι γάρ . . . Callimachus *Del.* 226; potes *nam*, Horace, *Epod.* 17.45; *quia Tuum est regnum et* potestas in the Latin Mass; "Seigneur, vous pouvez me guérir" in the processions of the sick at Lourdes; and countless similar examples.

East and West. The East had sinned. Laomedon—with dead Crassus—was the proof. Valerius makes the Argonauts Herakles and Telamon rescue Laomedon's daughter, Hesione,[34] and shows a king already bent on cheating, a Troy already sensing its doom (2.445 ff.). The story was of course known. By treating it as part of the Argonautic adventure rather than as a separate escapade of Herakles on his way home, and by interlarding his episode with reminiscences of Virgil, Valerius was indicating that a seamless web joined the two destructions of the city by avenging Greeks, and the eventual compensatory rise of Rome.

The second, Homeric, Trojan War evidently followed the pattern of the first. This time the prize to be recovered was abducted Helen. If nothing happened to her at the hands of her vengeful husband, as her respected role in the *Odyssey* makes clear, this is because within the mythic construct it is the symbol which is important. As soon as the prize is recovered, it loses its symbolic value, and another prize will take its place and assume its function.

The West was entitled to recompense from the East. This is what the Argonaut saga had come to prove already in Herodotus. Ultimately the legendary and persistent framework was adapted to fit the ambitions of the Crusaders, even perhaps the capture and looting in the Fourth Crusade (1202–4) of Byzantium, celebrated for its Golden Gate, and Golden Horn.

This explains the fascination with the story found among the Habsburgs. As late as 1571, the flagship sent by Philip II to lead the Christian fleet into battle against the Turks at Lepanto was not merely named Argo, as was previously noted, but actually built as a model of the Argo, following the celestial silhouette.[35] The myth offered clear justification for the perpetual war with the east which the Crusades demanded. Again, as in the days of Titus, the prize to be won was Jerusalem the golden. In 1588, Philip would try to repeat his success by invading England. How closely he was following—even if in reverse order—the model set by Julius, talked about by Augustus' poets and carried into effect by the Flavians!

The discovery of the Americas and their rich prizes as the fifteenth turned into the sixteenth century lent even further relevance to the

[34] Once again, pattern two (see above) is overlaid by pattern 1. Herakles certainly is not Laomedon's heir, and the promised horses are witheld.

[35] Tanner (1993) 5, 7–9.

myth of the Argonauts. Ariosto hails Charles V's new Argonauts (*Orlando Furioso,* 15.21).[36] In his *Libro de las Profecías* (1501), Columbus himself developed the symbolic and mystical aspects of his voyages. Spanish iconography made rich use of the story. Again, the echoes were ancient. In his fourth *Pythian,* Pindar already relates the Argonautic myth to a claim to colonization. Because Euphemos received a clod of earth from Triton, his descendants were entitled to occupy both Thera and ultimately Cyrene. No doubt the story was well known in that wealthy metropolis (cf. *Arg.* 2.500–28). Callimachus' elegiac (*Aet.* fr. 7.19–21 Pf. = *Arg.* 4.1720–30) and iambic (*Iamb.* 8 = *Arg.* 4.1765–72) treatments of aspects of this story—aiming no doubt to hint at new literary possibilities—may go back to boyhood memories of πατρικαὶ παραδόσεις, loyally picked up by his epic disciple.

3

Pindar, whose contribution to literary theory is large, also helps us to detect the outlines of a fifth-century Greek debate about the lessons of the Argonauts' tale. Though he praises her in an ode for a Corinthian victor (Pi. *O.* 13.53–4), the poet had not been blind to Medea's darker side (τὰν Πελίαο φονόν, Pi. *P.* 4.250). Even so, in this latter ode, she enjoys an extraordinarily prominent role. Introduced at the beginning, she dominates the myth itself. Jason certainly slays the serpent, which in Apollonius he does not do, but his action in securing the Fleece is reduced to the contemptuous κλέψεν. The story is not really meant to glorify the hero so much as to establish a colonial claim. There is no question that the descendants of Euphemos are entitled to enjoy the fruits of Kyrene, divinely allotted to them by an oracle. From her immortal lips (*P.* 4.11), the prophetic eastern princess had ratified the gift.[37]

Herodotus also notes the role of Jason and a "descendant of one of his crew" in the eventual colonization of the area around Lake

[36] Quoted by Tanner (1993) 157 with n. 44. Tasso by contrast certainly speaks of Columbus (*Ger. Lib.* 15.24–32), but makes him a better version of Dante's Ulysses. For Columbus' *Lettera Rarissima* (1502–4) and other quasi-mystical interpretations of his discoveries, Tanner (1993) 127.

[37] Apollonius's treatment of this theme (4.1731–64) excludes Medea, and is incidental to his narrative.

Tritonis (4.179), and of Euphemos in the colonization of Thera and Kyrene (4.150.2, *ex coniectura*). More generally, he views whatever clashes occur between Europe and Asia as the continuance of the old struggle, in which the Argonauts' theft of Medea certainly played a part, but which was by no means the beginning of the sequence of aggressions. His glorification of the victories over Xerxes thus honours the triumphant riposte of the West to eastern intrusions. He was a witness at least to the opening stages of the Peloponnesian War. Perhaps here he anticipated Isocrates' calls in the fourth century for the channelling of the warlike spirit of the Hellenes away from internecine strife towards the conquest of the Persian Empire. Brought up in Pericles' house, young Alcibiades is shown in the Platonic dialogues which bear his name as entertaining that kind of ambition, which Alexander would fulfil.

On the other side, questioning the wisdom of the Argonautic example, appeared Euripides who, in the fateful year 431 B.C., subjected to scrutiny "the morning after". In a devastating outburst of poetic nihilism, the Nurse comes forward in the prologue to wish that the whole adventure had never occurred. Scholars point to sources for the play we have, perhaps most intriguingly to a treatment by a certain Neophron. In earlier epic, Eumelos had handled the tale, declaring that King Aietes, Colchian though he may have been, was the real master of Corinth, and that Medea was sent to act as his vicereine until he could arrive himself. Nothing however in later tradition robbed Euripides of his iconoclastic fame.[38] Only the inexorable, humanizing advance of Athenian civilization towards a bourgeoisie of the sort familiar from Menander could provide the social sounding-board against which the poet's words could most effectively resonate. How telling that Ennius' imitation is the passage most often quoted by Cicero, himself the champion of *humanitas*, from Republican tragedy.

Even for Pindar, Jason was a sort of thief. Whatever his vicissitudes in poetry, reflected in Dante's ambivalence, the pictographic tradition is already aware that he was not cast in the most heroic mould. A cup by Douris (480–70 B.C.), now in the Vatican, shows

[38] In the recent (partial) translation into English of his *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* (1898–1902) by Sheila Stern, Jacob Burckhardt certainly points (91) to the sad tales evident in the *Nostoi*, tokens of Greek pessimism (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 11.255–77). But in Euripides in an inimitable and original way the emphasis is thrown on the domestic.

him helplessly hanging out of the mouth of—presumably being disgorged by—the serpent guarding the Fleece, while Athene looks on.[39] A somewhat later (about 420 B.C.) Italiote volute crater by the Sisyphos painter, found at Ruvo and now in Munich, shows him more heroically attacking the serpent—but Medea stands behind, holding high her box of magic charms. On the neck are seen Erotes at play. These vases,[40] done for Italian (Etruscan?) patrons, may reflect the local sense of humour. But in Pindar also, the narrative of the adventure, as we saw, is focused on Medea.

To whatever he inherited, Euripides had added his characteristic bias, anticipatory of New Comedy and its preoccupation with domestic troubles. Jason and Medea are a couple from whose marriage the romance has disappeared. The Fleece has vanished, and did not prove the talisman that was hoped. Jason is without resources. He has to better himself by whatever means he can. The chance of a marriage to Glauce offers, and he must take it. There is nothing personal about his decision. It will in fact be good for their children. This is what he explains to Medea.

Even if it had been likely that any wife would fall in with such a plan, this play substitutes for a conventional "happy ending" (found, for example, in the *Ion*) an explosion. Medea's violent and murderous reaction might be understood as the revelation of her true barbarism. But the good leader has to be able to choose his associates, and at the very least in the long run this leader had made a disastrously bad choice.

Jason explains his reasoning to Medea in a scene full of (for him) unintended irony (*Med.* 547–54):

ἃ δ' ἐς γάμους μοι βασιλικοὺς ὠνείδισας,
ἐν τῷδε δείξω πρῶτα μὲν σοφὸς γεγώς,
ἔπειτα σώφρων, εἶτα σοὶ μέγας φίλος
καὶ παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν· ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος.
ἐπεὶ μετέστην δεῦρ' Ἰωλκίας χθονός,
πολλὰς ἐφέλκων συμφορὰς ἀμηχάνους,
τί τοῦδ' ἂν εὕρημ' ηὗρον εὐτυχέστερον
ἢ παῖδα γῆμαι βασιλέως φυγὰς γεγώς;

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[39] Shown in Roscher vol. II. 1, cols 85–6. The suggestion that Jason (like Herakles or Perseus with other monsters) had climbed inside the serpent so as to kill it is quite irreconcilable with the iconography of the hero's hair; see, for example, the picture of Sarpedon by the Thanatos Painter: Arias – Hirmer (1962) 361–2. More on Jason in art in Roscher, *ibid.*, cols 77–88.

[40] Arias – Hirmer (1962) nos 147, 236.

> Your reproaches on the subject of my marriage into the royal house give me a chance to prove my wisdom, restraint and profound affection for both you and my children. Please keep calm. In leaving Iolcus for here, I had many intractable misfortunes in my train. My luckiest stroke of all will have been to marry the king's daughter in spite of my status as an exile.

Euripides already makes him use ἀμηχάνους of his adventures (552) and in so doing he would hand a wealth of ideas to Apollonius.[41] 'Αμηχανίη—which he "drags after" him like some inseparable fetter—justifies caddishness. But Medea, though he does not know it, already ponders a μηχανή for herself (260).

If the myth of the Argonauts had been viewed then as the glorification of heroic adventure, we can begin to understand the reaction against such simplicity represented in this play. Euripides had coined δυσέρως (*Hipp.* 193), and he lived in an age when the Athenians were, in his admirer Thucydides'[42] immortal phrase, δυσέρωτες τῶν ἀπόντων (6.13). His play was produced just as the Peloponnesian War began. Pericles was still in charge. The Delian League was still in existence, its nominal purpose to provide security against Persia. Plutarch (*Per.* 20) notes the naval expedition led by Pericles himself to the Pontos, perhaps in 437.[43] Who knows what ambitions he cherished if only the Spartans could be taught their impotence against a great naval power?

Pericles' plans went awry. Euripides eventually left Athens, and died at Pella. Ovid, who wrote another *Medea*, stood in that line of succession. Perhaps his Roman play was an object lesson to the new Jasons of his own age, and certainly his other poetry offered similar salutary cautions. But he had no Pella to serve as refuge. His ultimate, ironic punishment was willy-nilly to retrace Jason's steps to the place of Medea's crime at Tomi. Who will deny Augustus a sense of humour?

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[41] Cf. Lawall (1966) 121–69 on "Apollonius' Argonautica: Jason as Anti-Hero".
[42] *Anth. Lyrica Graeca,* ed. F. Diehl (repr. Leipzig 1949) vol. I, 133. Possibly the epigram is by Timotheus.
[43] Cf. Busolt (1897) 585 with n. 2.

4

And Apollonius, another exile? He lived in a time of supremely great enterprise by Hellas against the East. The debate over the Golden Fleece charted here, and the validity of the mission to seize it, offers the essential context within which his work may be assessed.

Great enterprises need great leaders. The Hellenistic notion of what constituted real leadership was supplied from the example so recently set by Alexander the Great—and enshrined, for example, in the "Alexander mosaic" now in Naples. The masterpiece no doubt reflects some earlier, possibly almost contemporary, painting, perhaps by Aristides or Philoxenos. Its symbolically withered tree clearly contrasts the old and feeble Dareios with the young and vigorous newcomer. The king's burial place was Alexandria, a perpetual reminder to the bookish, quarrelsome inhabitants of the Museum there of true greatness. Pindar's Battos provided a precedent at Kyrene (*P.* 5.93–5).

Alexander had set the mould of European history perhaps for ever. His attraction for the Romans in general, and for Augustus in particular, is well documented.[44] The imperial verses of Propertius hailing the new Alexander are the Elgarian "Pomp and Circumstance Marches" of his day (3.1.15–6):

> *Multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent,*
> *qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent. . . .*
>
> Many, o Rome, will add your glorious deeds to their histories,
> trumpeting Bactra as the destined bound of your empire.

With this we may contrast Philodemus' remark about "the brilliancies of Baktra".[45]

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[44] The early efforts to give Octavian an Alexander-like look are discussed, for example, by Walker – Burnett (1981). A bronze statuette of Nero, who posed as a second Augustus, has actually been found in Britain (Suffolk), with the youthful emperor in the guise of Alexander.

[45] Baktra, a romantic-sounding outpost of Alexander's empire, later in Parthia, mentioned four times in Propertius, may have formed part of a Hellenistic topos, since Philodemus ironically comments on poems about "silver and gold pitchers and τὰ λαμπρὰ τῶν Βάκτρων", recommending instead τὸ δηλούμενον πρᾶγμα ὡς ἥρωσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι πρεπωδέστερον (P. Herc. 1081 fr. 41 = 39 Hausrath). In rejecting Baktra then Propertius was arguing about literary decorum, not rejecting heroes and kings.

Compare further (3.4.1–4, 21):

Arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos
et freta gemmiferi findere classe maris.
magna, viri, merces. dabit ultima terra triumphos;
Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent . . .
praeda sit haec illis, quorum meruere labores . . .

Our god Caesar plans to carry his arms as far as the rich Indies,
and to cleave with his fleet the channels of the sea that yields pearls.
Soldiers! Great is the prize! The end of the earth will bestow triumphs.
The Tigris and the Euphrates will flow beneath Caesar's law . . .
Let this spoil be theirs whose toils have earned it.

In all this propaganda, a politicized Homer played a central role. Propertius, devoted servant of the regime, had implicitly compared himself with Homer (3.1.33, *Homerus*, 35, *meque*)—but Homer as eulogist. Even Philodemus, for all his *delicatissimi versus*, had written on "the good king according to Homer" (περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὅμηρον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως). There were also influential Stoic theories on the role of the good king as the "shepherd of his people", another Homeric borrowing. Ptolemy IV Philopator had himself and his queen depicted on the celebrated relief by Archelaos of Priene (150–100 B.C.), known to moderns as "Homer crowned by the World and Time".[46] Homer had contributed to establishing the heroic ideal of the day, for no one more than Alexander. The adaptation of his work then to criticize that ideal might have had more awkward implications than any mere literary choice would seem to entail.

But this is exactly what Apollonius did. In him, we must not dismiss any such critique as mere general evidence of a self-conscious age. There was already specific demurral before he wrote. Callimachus was polite enough to the Argonauts in his eighth *iambos*, as in the first Book of the *Aitia*. But his epic *Hekale* had explored a model becoming too trite at the hands of eulogists.[47] In his gentle, ironic manner (that of the olive tree of *Iambos* 4), he poses questions by projecting Theseus back into his youth and first adventure, the Capture of the Marathonian Bull, and then, by using Homer, projects forward for consideration (but no more) a comparison between

[46] BM GR 1819.8–12.1 (Sculpture 2191), now on display in Room 14.
[47] The late epic noted above (Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* no. 142, 594) refers to its Roman hero by an epithet reserved in the *Iliad* for Achilles, ῥηξήνωρ ("breaker of men").

the fresh-faced princeling in Hekale's hut and grizzled Odysseus in that of Eumaios.[48]

Apollonius was more radical. Since an epic has to be concerned with heroes, a good place to start our assessment of his achievement is his account of the selection of the leader (*Arg.* 1.332 ff.).

Traditional tales exhibit two approaches ("requirements"):

(1) The leader/champion is called by God or by a divine intermediary to perform some great act. He may substantiate his claim before the community by some miracle (δύναμις). Alternatively, he may have previously proved his heroic status.

This shades towards

(2) —He may be already the acknowledged king who has a right to summon his peers to the mighty enterprise.

Jason starts by looking as if he will fill requirement (1). One-sandalled—an old motif found, for example, both in Thrace and at Macedonian Derveni[49]—he arrives at Pagasai in fulfilment of Apollo's oracle (cf. 1.360, where he refers to an oracle of Apollo *after* he has been chosen). He has already gained the favour of Hera by his courtesy at the Anauros (3.66).

He goes on to summon his peers in a version of requirement (2), and they raise no problems about accepting. But then curiously, after the build-up he has received, he throws the choice of leader open, flouting both (1) and (2). And, equally surprisingly, the others all look to Herakles (cf. 1.342, "with a single shout").

There are two immediate possibilities for this παρὰ προσδοκίαν:

(1) In the wake of Alexander, the Lagidae, the ruling house of the Ptolemies in Alexandria (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 17.20) had taken Herakles as patron. Apollonius would be cleverly inserting some flattery into his tale (cf. *Arg.* 1.915, where there is reference to the Ptolemaic cult of the Kabeiroi on Samothrace). Herakles, acknowledged as the first choice, can then gracefully defer to Jason. If he accepts the leadership of another, it is, as it were, his gift.

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[48] Fr. 239 Pf. Cf. my "Callimachus and the Epic" (1974) 350. *Arg.* 1.972 seems to be a reminiscence of *Hekale* 274.1 Pf. = 45 H. With the help of Callimachus, Apollonius' doomed Kyzikos would be made to furnish a tragic commentary on youthful heroic aspiration.

[49] Thrace: *Ancient Gold* 53–4 with n. 148 on 242; Derveni: large bronze crater from Tomb Beta pictured in *The Search for Alexander* (1981) 164 no. 127 with color plate 20. The *locus classicus* in Roman literature is *Aen.* 4.518, *unum exuta pedem.*

(2) Apollonius is telling us something about Jason's character. Is he already seen even by his own men as a "nice guy" likely to finish last?

But, in the event, these alternatives are too sharply put. What really happens in the poem is that two types of leader are contrasted, neither to his entire advantage.[50] Is Jason's niceness too malleable? Yet, on the other hand, is Herakles himself, if *sans peur*, also *sans reproche*?

The importance of Herakles is underlined by the fact that he is named in the centre of the list of arriving Argonauts (1.122). Yet Fränkel[51] also points to the adjective θρασύς used of him (341; cf. 1.1316) as possibly an implied criticism even here (cf. however 2.118). If Herakles shares the ambivalences chronicled by Wilamowitz,[52] if he is too inclined, for example, to resort to brute force on the one side (as his treatment of the Hesperides at 4.1432 reveals), and on the other is to some extent a comic figure, Jason is strangely subject to ἀμηχανίη. He had already used, as was noted, ἀμηχάνους of his adventures in Euripides (*Med.* 552), and precisely where he is proposing to desert Medea.[53]

But the evidence is not confined to a single word. These passages in particular are relevant to any discussion of what modern jargon would call Jason's "leadership capabilities":

> 1.460: Jason broods (πορφύρεσκεν; cf. πόρφυρε of Agenor, *Il.* 21.551; πορφύρουσαι, *Arg.* 3.23) and is mocked by Idas. On this see Fränkel (1968) 75–8. He argues that Idas represents the naive idea of a leader,

[50] The reader will wish to compare Clauss (1993). For Dionysius Scytobrachion's cavalier solution to the problem, see above, n. 25.

[51] (1968) 67–8. Wendel's edition of the *scholia* is also adduced (1958).

[52] Wilamowitz (1959) vol. II, 1–107.

[53] For the 32 examples of the ἀμηχαν- root in the epic (and contrasting usages in Homer) see Reich – Maehler (1991) vol. I, 58–9. Instances repaying study are 2.860, 885; 3.423, 432, 504, 772, 893, 951, 1157, 1527. Fränkel (with a fine confusion of author and work!) remarks (1968) 390: "Anfälle von lähmender ἀμηχανίη sind für die Personen der Argonautika (und vermutlich auch für den Autor des Epos) so typisch, daß das Wort ἀμήχανος mit seiner Ableitungen mehr als 30 mal in dem Gedicht vorkommt". Earlier (*ibid.* 67–68), he had played down the significance of this (largely un-Homeric) word in the case of Jason, followed by Green, who suggests that ἀμηχανίη is merely a token of the human condition. But leaders are selected because they rise above the human condition, not only in epic (δῖος, θεοειδής, θεοείκελος and so on) but also, for the Romans at least, in real life (*at est bonus imperator, at felix*, Cic. *Verrine* 5.4). Sulla *felix* was ἐπαφρόδιτος because he was lucky at war's game (Venus being the highest throw), a theme to which Exekias' vase in the Vatican Museo Etrusco has given immortal expression.

serving to bring out by contrast Jason's modernity. But it was Alexander who was modern! Idas is merely foil. Pindar had already commented on Idas' fate (*N.* 10.64 ff.). Who could imagine that the eventual slayer of Castor, struck down for his crime by Zeus, was any sort of serious contender for leadership? But there is a genuine criticism of the hero here. Homer's Agenor, scared but brave, and in any case about to be rescued by Apollo, was making a supreme effort on the field to save his city. Jason shares Agenor's "blue funk" somewhat prematurely.

1.862: Jason dallies too long with Hypsipyle and is rebuked by Herakles at a meeting of the crew. This is an excellent example of the antithesis under discussion.

1.1161: Herakles breaks his oar and subsequently loses Hylas. There is an element of comedy. The broken oar is clearly a phallic symbol, now alas to be *hors de combat.* Antimachus had said, followed by Posidippus and Pherecydes (*sch. Arg.* 1.1289–91a, p. 116 Wendel), that the reason for Herakles' absence from the expedition is that the Argo could not bear his weight. His *kabod* (כבוד)[54] was too great. Apollonius hints at this motif (cf. 1.533, ὑπεκλύσθη, and κλύζεν at the epiphany of Apollo under whom the island sinks, 2.680). But, in choosing his romantic explanation against Posidippus—incidentally one of the Telchines assailed by Callimachus (*sch. Flor.* 5, Pfeiffer [1949–51] vol. I, 3)—the poet was in fact suggesting that eros to his maddened hero was more important than duty or loyalty.

1.1286: But Jason hardly fares better as a leader at this point. By an inexplicable lapse, he leaves Herakles and Polyphemos behind, and is assailed by Telamon, evidently here the voice of heroic common sense. An apology ensues, but if the adage is true that all forgetfulness is deliberate, Telamon's first reaction may well have been right.

2.122: Jason is mentioned last among those repelling the assaults of the Bebrykians. (There is a similar incident at 4.489). This is not the best posture for a leader who was certainly forward enough when it came to visiting Hypsipyle, and is quite unlike the great Alexander, of whose headstrong bravery in battle many tales are told. Fränkel points out ([1968] 468 ff.; cf. 264 ff.) that, by contrast with its old epic counterparts, the *Argonautica* separates heroic prowess and its prelude of arming for the fray, except where eros is anticipated.

2.869: In Herakles' absence, Peleus seems to have taken over as the obvious "CEO". The hero has a wonderful modern moment ("Kramer vs. Kramer") at 4.852 when, by command of Hera, and thinking of the future of her son, his estranged wife Thetis appears to him with good advice and even touches his hand, but gives him no chance to reply before she vanishes again.

2.885 ff.: Fränkel interprets this scene as a cunning ploy by Jason to rouse his men to action ([1961] 96; [1968] 240). The hero only

[54] On this sacral term, Botterweck-Ringgren (1984), cols 13 ff., 23 ff.

"pretends" to be downhearted. But this is quite contrary to Virgil's notion of leadership (*Aen.* 1.207–08, *curisque ingentibus aeger/spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*). Fränkel has to condemn ἀμηχανέων (885) to suit his thesis! Jason in fact is no better than his crew (ἀμηχανίῃσιν, 860).

3.423, 432, 504: the reaction to Aietes' challenge. Though Fränkel has allowed for some psychology at 2.885, he is puzzled by κερδαλέοισι at 3.426 ([1961] 130, [1968] 352). In what sense is Jason being "crafty"? Foxy craft is certainly part of the hero's make-up,[55] but here Jason is being disingenuous, playing for time. Later, Argos seems to speak as if Jason might actually decline the trial (476), and suggests Medea could be the solution (cf. Idas' sarcasm at 558). Perhaps Jason made the expected heroic answer (after a struggle!) to the king's challenge simply to extricate himself from an embarrassment. After all, what would Aietes have done to him if he had declined? He needed to work out his real decision more slowly, and he had not yet thought of Medea. This was his unheroic, temporizing version of Achilles' κερδοσύνη. His behaviour at 4.395 ff. is similar.

At 3.504 once again it is Peleus who plays the part of the obvious leader. So also at 4.494 (when it is a question of the route home), and at 4.1368, where he correctly interprets the portent to mean that the Argonauts must carry their ship overland to Lake Tritonis.

3.1197: Jason is like a κλωπήιος φώρ. At 1204 he has a τέρεν δέμας, a phrase used of baby Achilles at 4.871. And, more generally in book 3, what implicit criticism is suggested by the fact that the ploughing with the bulls and the other parts of the heroic ordeal are crammed into the last 130 lines (counting from 1278) of a 1407-line-long narrative, while so much is given over to a detailed description of Medea's erotic symptoms and interaction with her sister? Does Jason perform the labour successfully only because he is on drugs? Alas, Medea's drug is only good for one day (3.1049–50).

Displacement (*déformation*) such as this had been exemplified by Callimachus in the *Hekale*, where the capture of the Bull was evidently made a minor incident. That was a story about a callow youth. Apollonius develops the trick into a critique of the whole heroic accomplishment.

4.1432: Herakles robs the Hesperides, the already mentioned instance of his brutality. (It is from 1479 here that Virgil borrows his simile when Aeneas meets despoiled Dido in *Aen.* 6.450.) The usual story was that Atlas went to secure the apples, while Herakles supported the world in his place, and this is what Pherecydes had related, and what

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[55] A black-figure hydria from the Leagros group (early 5th century, now in St. Petersburg) shows Achilles with a fox on his helmet, evidently referring to the κερδοσύνη of his victory (*Il.* 22.247). A reproduction is found in Friis Johansen (1967) 142. But Achilles did not employ κερδοσύνη to postpone or even avoid the heroic challenge.

every Greek saw at Olympia.[56] In Apollonius' account, we find no mention of Atlas, and Herakles seems to bear alone the guilt of his violent assault on four innocent sisters. Κύντατος (1433; cf. ὁλοώτατος ὕβριν, 1436) is blunt enough for the ancestor of the Lagid house!

Even so, his short way with the serpent guarding the apples contrasts with Jason's dependence on Medea's charms to secure from its guardian the Golden Fleece. At this point, as the Minyae gather to drink from Herakles' spring, they are unflatteringly compared to ants, another simile borrowed by Virgil (*Aen.* 4.402, the Aeneadae leaving Dido). The echoes of the *Iliad* evoked by μυῖαι here (2.469, 16.641, 17.570) are equally unflattering to them. They are in fact rather like the bedraggled and demoralized Athenians, δυσέρωτες τῶν ἀπόντων, at the Assinarus (Th. 7.84).

4.162: Jason receives the Fleece thanks to Medea. He is compared to a young girl (παρθένος) "catching the gleam of the moon at the full as it rises above her high-roofed chamber... and from the shimmering of the flocks of wool there settled on his fair cheeks and brow a red flush like flame" (Seaton). Διχόμηνις had occurred at 1.1231, as Hylas is about to be drowned. "Red" is another link (ἐρευθόμενον, 1.1230; ἔρευθος, 4.173). It is almost as if in this reflection the hero loses his own identity, feminized and dragged into erotic waters too deep for human life. How jealous he becomes of his prize both here and at 1147. Contrast William Morris' Jason, who is quite ready to share (*Life and Death* IX. 246).

But the supreme demonstration of what happens to Jason's heroism comes in the scene where he murders Apsyrtos, Medea's brother (4.421 ff.), an episode in which Apollonius seems quite decidedly to challenge the conventional heroic concept.[57] The noun ἥρως recurs three times (471 Apsyrtos; 477, Jason; 485, the Argonauts in general). One may compare the ironic use of the noun in the Preface to Callimachus' *Aitia* (3–6):

εἵνεκε]ν οὐχ ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές, ἢ βασιλ[ήων
δήρι]ας ἐν πολλαῖς ἤνυσα χιλιάσιν,
ἢ [μεγάλ]ους ἥρωας, ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἑλ[ίσσω,
παῖς ἅτ]ε, τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἡ δεκά[ς] οὐκ ὀλίγη.

Because I did not accomplish one continuous song in many thousands of verses, either the quarrels of kings, or mighty heroes, but roll out instead my verse in fits and starts, like a child, though the measure of my years is not small.

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[56] Roscher vol. I. 1, col. 709 says that the female figure on the left of the celebrated metope is in fact a Hesperid giving friendly aid. Kerényi (1979) 176 with n. 72 cites no authority for Apollonius' version of the story except Apollonius.

[57] For other versions of the death of Apsyrtos, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 8.

v. 4. *Supplevi collato*: cum canerem reges et proelia, Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3; proelia me loqui, Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.1.

v. 5. *Heroes magni puero parva balbutienti opponuntur. nam quod πρότεροι fuerint, quod vulgo accusativo casu inferciunt, quid attinet?*

Apsyrtos is compared at the outset (460) to a toddler (ἀταλὸς παῖς) foolishly braving a wintry torrent. We are often told that Alexandrian poetry was interested in the recovery of the child for literature, but do we pay enough attention to that insight?[58]

Apollonius had already hinted that something nasty was going to happen to Apsyrtos by telling us that his alternative name was Phaithon (3.245). His fate had been made familiar by Euripides' graceful tragedy.[59] The family of Aietes was descended from the Sun, so that the link with the legend is not hard to make; and the first time we see Apsyrtos he is in fact holding his father's chariot (3.1236; cf. 4.224 where he actually drives it). This lends extra resonance to the later description of the fall of the traditional Phaithon and the mourning of his sisters (4.597 ff.; cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.62–3).

The bait enticing Apsyrtos to enter the trap has been a robe given to Jason by now abandoned Hypsipyle, shared once by Ariadne and Bakchos after Ariadne had been abandoned by Theseus. This was the tale Jason told—with diplomatic omissions—to secure Medea's co-operation at 3.997. Hypsipyle got it from her father, who was spared when the women of Lemnos murdered all the males on the island. They were annoyed with their husbands because they were giving too much attention to ληιάδες (1.806). But Medea is a ληιάς (4.35).[60]

This murder of an (unarmed?) man who thinks he has come to parley with his repentant sister takes place in a temple of the virgin goddess Artemis. Jason strikes him down as if he were a sacrificial bull. As he dies, the poet says that he stained red with his blood (ἐρύθηνε) the silvery veil and robe which Medea is wearing. But "red" (ἔρευθος) was the colour of the Fleece. Medea now seems to have it on—and

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[58] Callimachus compares himself to a child in the *Aitia*-preface (6: cf. παῖδας, 37). More generally, see my "Iambe/Iambos and the Rape of a Genre. A Horatian Sidelight" (1998) 101–120. *Inter alia* it discusses Callimachus' *Iambos* 12.

[59] A chorus from it (*Phaethon* 67 ff. Diggle) is partially paraphrased by Horace in the opening stanza of his farewell to Virgil, *Od.* 4.12; cf. 4.11.25–6, *terret ambustus Phaethon avaras spes.*

[60] For ληιάς as a leitmotif in the epic, see my *The Classical Epic Tradition* (1986) 78–9. The concept is Euripidean (*Med.* 256). The visit to Lemnos occurs in Pindar (*P.* 4.252) on the way home, and is perhaps already used there to signal troubles in store. It should be remarked that Apollonius is content to evoke motifs from previous poetry often more by way of the free association of ideas than in a precise and logical correspondence. It is a filmic device which he will in turn transmit to Virgil.

> how different this from the imperial insignia and the red worn by Titian's Charles V! Jason has not won the Fleece at all. Its Serpent still guards it, and the hero has surrendered himself to its barbarism—another Euripidean thought.[61]

Virgil's *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* might have been written of Apsyrtos. At this point, the texture of the *Argonautica* is seen to be as dense as that of the *Aeneid*.

What was really happening was a rediscovery of the complexity (or, to change the metaphor, polyphony) of Homer's epics. This was to press further with Callimachus' treatment of Homer in the *Hekale*, but into what could be politically dangerous territory. Homer had been usurped and rendered monotonous, διηνεκής, by the school of Choerilus of Iasos, so inexplicably admired, for example, by scholars such as K. Ziegler. Such poets were in search of *regale nomisma, Philippos* (Hor. *Epp.* 2.1.234). Truth and its shadows mattered little in the scramble for pelf from those empowered to bestow it. What happened to a poet who tried to swim against this tide?

What happened to Apollonius? Wilamowitz had already expressed scepticism about an explanation of Apollonius' exile from Alexandria to Rhodes which would make that withdrawal dependent on a simple literary quarrel.[62] Its recent revival is perhaps another example of academic self-projection, that vice by which professors continually see the world—even the world of the artist—as made up of other professors. What drove Apollonius out of Ptolemaic jurisdiction and into the independent island state of Rhodes was evidently his need for protection against the Ptolemies, who exercised a literary censorship of which Sotades, said to have been imprisoned at Alexandria by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and later drowned by one of his admirals, had born the brunt.[63] Apollonius had become interested in Archilochus (Athen. 10.451D)—a dangerous hobby at a royal

[61] Βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις (*Or.* 485).

[62] "Ein Alexandriner, der nicht nur aus der Stadt, sondern aus dem Reich des Philadelphos scheidet, weicht nicht nur der abgünstigen Kritik seines Buches. Er scheidet in Ungnade" ("He goes off in official disgrace", [1962] 207). Later we read: "Alles in allem werden wir am sichersten zum Verständnis und dadurch zu einem gerechten Urteil gelangen, wenn wir von dem Zwiste der Dichter ganz absehen, sie vielmehr beiden nebeneinander als Vertreter derselben hellenistischen Kunst würdigen" (*ibid.* 209–10).

[63] Susemihl (1891) 245.

court (ψογερὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, Pi. *P.* 2.55).[64] Though he had been Ptolemy III Euergetes' tutor, the king, who succeeded in 247/6 B.C., seems to have displaced him and appointed as Librarian in his stead Eratosthenes, like Callimachus a Cyrenean.

Yet, though we may bear grudges against our old tutors, do we hound them out of their positions and familiar surroundings because of their literary views? But what if Apollonius, in his account of Jason and Medea and their ruthless treatment of Apsyrtos, had too obviously refracted the sometimes sanguinary history of the Lagids and their womenfolk?[65] What if he had undercut both the notion of heroic leadership in general and the role of Herakles in particular? Scytobrachion had made civilising Herakles the leader of the whole expedition. Apollonius was challenging official propaganda, which saw the Ptolemies as φιλάδελφοι,[66] and, as was remarked, found in Herakles the ancestor of the royal house. We may guess that a first reading of the poem to the members of the Museum, perhaps even attended by the royal patron whose palace was adjacent, created far too cynical an impression for the official caretakers of the king's image. Herakles a buffoon glaring around in frustration because he broke his oar—and then dropped from the expedition altogether? Jason not the hero of an adventure anticipating the eastern glories of Alexander but a womanizer, a trickster leading a young girl on, dependent totally on her witcheries, eventually with her connivance a murderer? What pretensions would the acid of such irony not dissolve? Such an untrustworthy poet must be dismissed from his exalted position! Perhaps, when the φιλόσοφοι/φιλόλογοι met to ratify the king's displeasure, Callimachus of Cyrene, always the perfect courtier and master of the tactful gesture to the powers that be, was obliged

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[64] The short, knock-kneed general of a familiar fragment (114 West) is evidence enough of Archilochus' hostility to the conventional hero. The poet's whole relation to his Homeric models might also be adduced.

[65] Berenice had in fact connived at the expulsion of her stepson Ptolemy Ceraunus, the rightful heir of Ptolemy I, in favour of her own son, later Ptolemy Philadelphus. Fränkel (1968) 232 finds a possible allusion to Arsinoe and Lysimachus at 2.772–95. Arsinoe had prejudiced King Lysimachus against his grown-up son Agathocles and brought about his execution. She had later returned to Alexandria and persuaded Ptolemy II Philadelphus, her younger brother, to divorce his existing wife and marry her. More on these dynastic intrigues in Burton (1995), index, s. vv. Arsinoe, Berenice. Callimachus was always careful to keep on the right side of these powerful ladies. Apollonius comedifies them (3.7 ff.).

[66] Rusten (1982) 89.

to join in some motion of censure to save the institution, as in 1914 A.E. Housman, unnerved by public war-hysteria, voted with the rest to expel the pacifist Bertrand Russell from his Fellowship at Trinity. When Eratosthenes, another Cyrenean, succeeded him, perhaps Apollonius felt betrayed. He had followed Callimachus' ironic example only to be left to fend for himself. Callimachus would have answered that Apollonius had taken imitation too far and on the wrong material. Certainly the *Aitia* had turned as early as their first book to an incident in the tale of the Argonauts, later picked up for his conclusion by Apollonius.[67] But it was the *Hekale*, concerned with Theseus, an Athenian hero, which mildly questioned the nature of the heroic ideal. Resentment may have flared: αἴτιος ὁ γράψας Αἴτια Καλλίμαχος. If Apollonius wrote this rueful epigram—which is by no means established—it was because of a literary allegiance asserted to a fault.[68]

The poet found it prudent to withdraw while he had the chance to a republic where the king's writ did not run. "Rhodius" emphasizes his new allegiance and claim to asylum. He perhaps toyed with thoughts of revision (like Ovid with the *Fasti* later)—and hence the scholiasts' talk of a προέκδοσις. But in any case, as with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the effort to make the *Argonautica* less critical of the heroic would have meant denaturing the poem. There was no return for either poet, though their epics survived.

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One thing that Apollonius had not done was lend his voice to the Herodotean interpretation of the Argonautic myth as a deserved tit-for-tat, or to the eulogistic aims later evident in Valerius Flaccus

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[67] "Argonautarum reditus et ritus Anaphaeus" (fr. 7^{19}-21 Pf.; cf. *Arg.* 4.1725). "Apollonium Callimachi vestigia pressisse nunc constat, v. passim infra in commentario", Pfeiffer (1949–51) vol. I, 17.

[68] Cf. Powell (1970) 8, no. 13. The genitive Καλλιμάχου of the paradosis at the beginning of the hexameter should be retained (Καλλίμαχος *perperam* Bentley). Apollonius is not abusing Callimachus in the hexameter. He means that the terms of opprobrium directed *against himself* are "of Callimachus", inspired in some way by Callimachus, and the pentameter explains that the real responsibility for this abuse aimed at him (at the time of the failure of his poem?) lies with the author of the Αἴτια, and the novel theories of epic defended in its Preface. These terms open with κάθαρμα, the scapegoat driven out by the community, bearing its offences.

and perhaps already inspiring Varro of Atax. An English poet followed him.

William Morris' *Life and Death of Jason* (1867) went into nine editions in its author's lifetime. Obviously then it satisfied some demand, whatever its datedness for the modern exegete. It is written in seventeen books (an Ennian measure, followed by Silius Italicus) of rhymed couplets. The model here is Chaucer, though in the event, unleavened by Chaucer's humour, it becomes a sort of over-emphatic parody of Tennyson's manner, not without a certain talent, but ultimately lacking Tennyson's touch and gift.

But it is just here that the comparative method proves its value. The poem appeared in another age of imperialism, in the decade after British troops had put down the Indian Mutiny. In 1876 Disraeli would proclaim Queen Victoria Empress of India (encroaching on Habsburg dignities).[69] The Koh-i-Noor diamond had recently (1849), on the annexation of the Punjab, been added to the Crown Jewels. If ever there was an instance of the recovery of an eastern prize and therefore the fulfilling of the Quest for the Golden Fleece, this was surely it.

Yet Morris was a Victorian Romantic, an idealist and Socialist who did not share the love-affair of his age with the smokestacks of technology's dirty days. Rebelling against industrial revolution, he set his poem in a medieval frame, at least as the Victorians, bereft of any sense of agape, conceived the Middle Ages. There are references to "Our Lady", even to church steeples and bells. A half-suppressed sexuality of the sort familiar from the Pre-Raphaelites continually gives us glimpses of thin-clad or unclad girls with white bosoms and "sweet" necks, silhouetted like statues by Freudian and Jungian pools.

Morris' own mill at Kelmscott produced paper to supply his lavishly hand-printed books. Accordingly, he is interested in the actual construction of the Argo (III.74; cf. XI.221), a theme sidestepped by Apollonius (1.18–9), though one still attractive to the Romans and perhaps to the Etruscans.[70] In the Exeter College which he had

[69] The efforts of Philip II to convince the pope to recognize him as "emperor of the Indies" are recorded by Braudel (1972) 675.

[70] Cf. the terracotta relief (BM Terracottas D 603, probably from the 1st century A.D.), said to have been found by the Porta Latina, showing Athena supervising the building of the Argo. The goddess is seated on the left, the yard is held by Tiphys, while Argus sits across the stern. A much earlier Etruscan cornelian

attended as an Oxford undergraduate, the Morris Room was until a few years ago still decorated with wall-paper he had himself designed and crafted.

But he lived in a soot-filled world.[71] The fairy-tale was over, and his version of the *Argonautica* incorporates therefore a version of the action of the *Medea*. Apollonius had certainly presupposed his readers' awareness of that turn (how could a Hellenistic audience not be aware of what was to follow, given Euripides' posthumous fame?), and his similes often look pathetically ahead to Medea abandoned. For his more philistine age (the adjective in this cultural sense had been lately reaffirmed by Matthew Arnold), Morris feels the need to spell things out.

Euripides' Jason, as we saw, a good Greek, explains to Medea that his decision to abandon her is made purely on rational, family grounds. Morris' English hero is going through his mid-life crisis, here certainly sharing something with Tennyson's hero Ulysses. In his case, somehow he hopes that a new and younger bride will mean a fresh start—back into the past.[72] This throws the emphasis on him. While Euripides, like Seneca, had ended with the slaughter of the children and the witch's escape on the chariot of the sun, Morris refuses to explain how Medea got away, and the children are mentioned merely as two pathetic bodies lying in some palace room. His epic ends with the aging hero falling asleep on the shore by his rotting craft, from which the stempost falls and kills him. What had been Medea's prophecy in Euripides (*Med.* 1387) is thus made a

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scarab in the same case (26, Room 69; from Chiusi, second half of the fifth century), on which a man with an adze is shaping wood, is sometimes interpreted as Argos at work on the Argo. This may well be right. It is hardly likely to "simply show an artisan at work", since such a theme on an item of personal adornment could have held no appeal at that time.

[71] "To us . . . meshed within this smoky net/Of unrejoicing labour", XVII.9–10. Compare the outlandish Chalybes, Apollonius, *Arg.* 2.1007–8. They had been cursed by Callimachus (fr. 110.48 Pf.).

[72] Everyone will recall the end of Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925): "borne back ceaselessly into the past". Gatsby had famously been educated at Oggsford College. Fitzgerald had had a classical training at Princeton, and no doubt was thinking of Virgil, *G.* 1.199–203. Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, published in the same year as *Gatsby*, was adapted by George Stevens in his film *A Place in the Sun* (1950) to use the idea of a golden princess and prize to chart its hero's downfall. The title of the film was borrowed from Pascal's *Pensées*: "'C'est là ma place au soleil.' Voilà le commencement et l'image de l'usurpation de toute la terre" (ed. L. Lafuma [Paris: 1947] I, 129). *Il vaut la peine d'y réfléchir.*

quite independent finale. The age of solid achievement is over, and its decay has mortal consequences.

This is not the place to assess the quality of the English poet's creation, which in any case is only part of an œuvre spread over a lifetime and embracing many different areas of activity. A detailed comparison of Morris' epic with the classical treatments of Apollonius or Valerius Flaccus could only reveal its utter remoteness from the spirit of those originals. What we can salute is his total innocence of any effort in the England of his day to use the myth for glorificatory or jingoistic[73] ends. This is the tenuous thread linking him with the Greek past—what is called the classical epic tradition—a past which is also profoundly philanthropic.

Δέρος δέ τοι ἶσον ὀνείρῳ/οἴχοιτ' εἰς ἔρεβος μεταμώνιον: "May your Fleece go vainly off to *Europe* like a dream". Like Apollonius, Morris several times alludes to dreams. Writing under Philip II, Calderòn had declared that life itself was a dream (*La Vida es Sueño*, 1635). Does the dream of revenge for past and perhaps imaginary wrongs, of "holding the gorgeous East in fee" (Wordsworth), of taking back some Golden Fleece, with its attendant disappointments and ambivalences, of sending Achilles to Vietnam (Jonathan Shay) still haunt the western imagination?

These are large questions, trespassing even into the boardrooms of oil and gas conglomerates and their eastern fields and empires. To answer "yes" to them is to make Apollonius' epic a major document of western humanism, demanding the methodology of *literae humaniores* for its understanding, and rendering its study and explication of commensurate value.

[73] A popular music-hall song of 1878 declared: "We don't want to fight, / yet by Jingo if we do, / we've got the ships, we've got the men, / and got the money too" (*OED* s.v. "jingo"). This was in support of Disraeli's sending of British ships into Turkish waters (Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα) as a warning to Russia.

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